BARHUT INSCRIPTIONS

BARUA & SINHA

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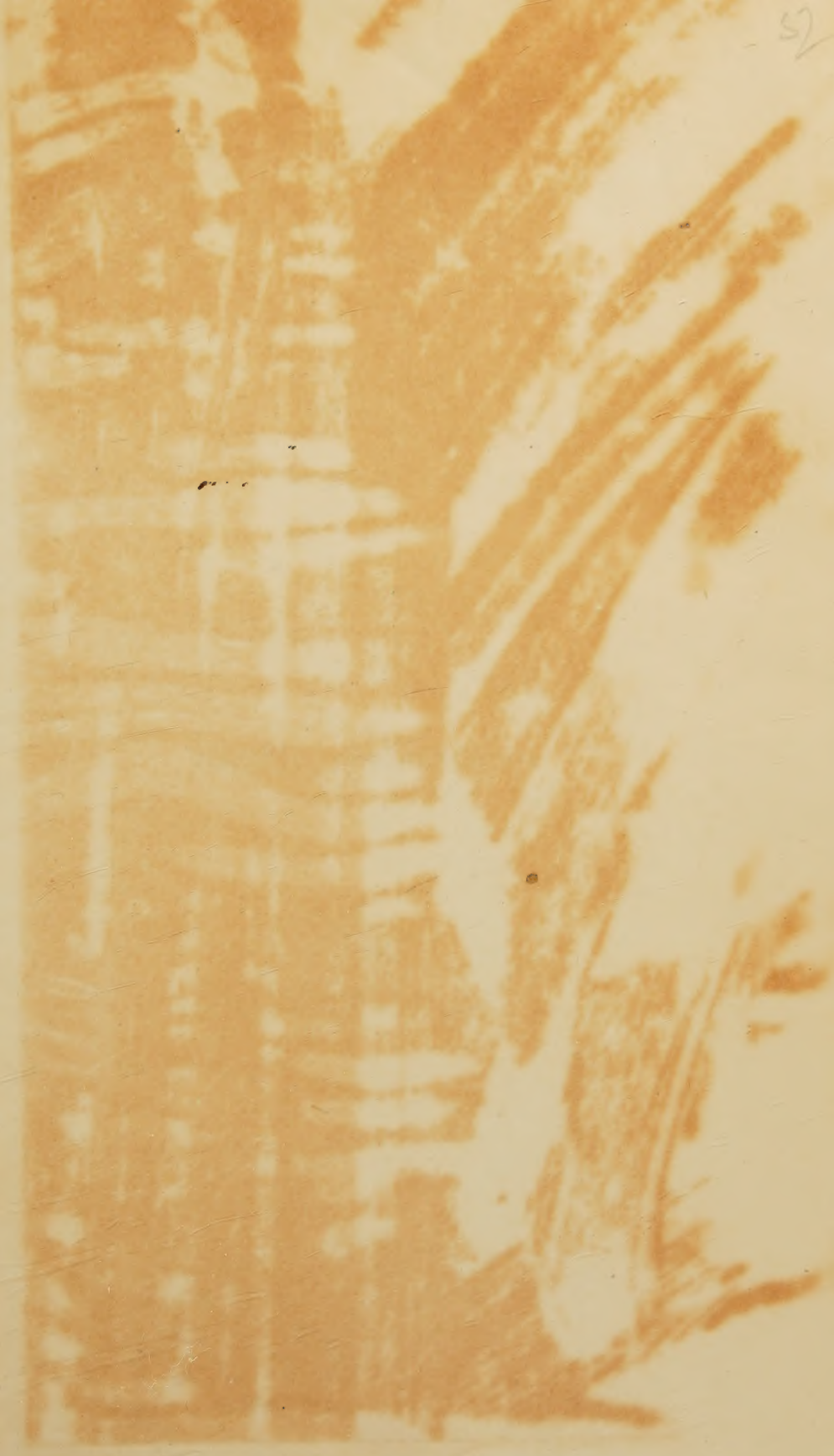

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BARHUT INSCRIPTIONS

EDITED AND TRANSLATED WITH CRITICAL NOTES

BY

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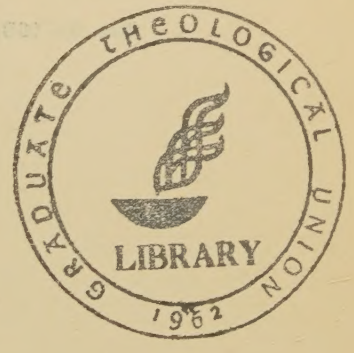

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To

Sacred Memory

of

SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE

PREFACE.

The present edition is the outcome of a close study of the inscriptions on the Inner Railing and Gateways of the Buddhist Stūpa at Barhut in Central India according to a new plan. Instead of setting these inscriptions as they are found incised in order on the existing E. Gateway, component parts of the Quadrants of the Inner Railing, and several fragments, we have rearranged them in such a manner that we can unveil the system that underlies them and thereby make them truly significant. We have broadly distinguished them as Votive Labels and Jātaka Labels, grouping the former as they occur on the Gateway-pillars, the Rail-pillars, the Rail-bars, the Coping-stones, and the isolated Fragments, and grouping the latter as they are attached to different scenes in accordance with the accepted Jātaka-outlines of the Buddha's life. We have followed special numbering for each group, and also a general continuous numbering to facilitate reference. In interpreting the inscriptions we have not spared pains to collect as many parallels from literature as possible and proper. In spite of all the trouble taken and the care bestowed, we wish we could believe that we were any more than beginners. We feel grieved that Sir Asutosh Mookerjee is no more to receive a copy of this work as a gift and bless us with an open heart, which itself was far more than an earthly reward. We humbly dedicate the work itself to his sacred memory as he was the real inspirer of it and arranged for its publication just a month before he passed away at Patna. We are indebted to our friend Mr. Manindra Lal Sen, M.A., for assisting us in collecting some of the useful references, to Professor D. R. Bhandarkar, Dr S. K. Chatterjee, Dr. G. N. Banerjee and Dr. Stella Kramrisch for occasional suggestions, and no less to Mr. J. C. Chakravorti, M.A., Assistant Registrar, Mr. A. C. Ghatak, M.A., Superintendent, Calcutta University Press, and his staff for their readiness to oblige. One of us must thankfully acknowledge that it is Mr. R. D. Banerjee who initiated him into the study of the Barhut exhibits and inscriptions in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

CALCUTTA,
Jan. 14, 1926.

B. M. BARUA.
GANGANANDA SINHA.

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BIBLIOGRAPHY AND ABBREVIATIONS

C=Cunningham's Stûpa of Bharhut, 1879.

Ho=Höernle's Readings from the Bharhut Stūpa, Indian Antiquary, Vol. X.

[Dr. J. Anderson's reading and interpretation of the Barhut Inscriptions in his Catalogue and Handbook of the Archæological Collection in the Indian Museum, 1883, are mere reproductions from Cunningham's Monograph and Höernle's Readings.]

H=Hultzsch's Bharaut Inscriptions, Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXI; ZDMG, Vol. XL; also article on the "Sunga Inscription of the Bharaut Stûpa" in Indian Antiquary, Vol. XIV.

L=Lüder's List of Brāhmī Inscriptions from The Earliest Times, Epigraphia Indica, Vol. X.

F=Jātaka-Commentary, edited by Fausböll.

Bühler's Indian Paleographic Tables.

R. P. Chanda—Dates of the Votive Stûpa Inscriptions at Sanchi in Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India, No. 1.

BT=Barhut Text as can actually be read in stone or in C's eye-copy.

CT=Corrected Text in the authors' opinion.

FT=Full Text as made out by the authors.

Tr=Translation.

E=Explanatory.

N=Notes.

BARHUT INSCRIPTIONS

SECTION I

VOTIVE LABELS

1. Suganaṃ raje raño Gāgīputasa
Visadevasa pauteṇa Gotiputasa
Āgarajusa puteṇa Vāchiputena
Dhanabhūtina kāritaṃ toraṇāṃ
silākaṃmaṃto ca upaṃṇa. BT

1. Votive Labels on Gateways (Toraṇas) (a) [Pillar of] E. Gateway

Suganaṃ raje raño Gāgīputasa
Visadevasa pauteṇa Gotiputasa
Agarajusa puteṇa Vāchiputena
Dhanabhūtinā kāritaṃ toraṇaṃ
sīlākaṃmaṃto ca upaṃṇo. CT (1)

"Within the dominion of the Śuṅgas the gateway has been caused to be made and the workmanship in stone produced by Vātsīputra Dhanabhūti, son of 'Gotiputa Āgaraju' (and) grandson of King Gārgīputra Viśvadeva." Tr

[C. p. 128, G.P.I. 1 (Pls. XII, LIII)—reads *rājño, Agarajasa, toranam, silakammata.* H. No. 1, cf. I. A., XIV, p. 138. L. No. 687. *Suganaṃ raje*=in the kingdom of *Sugana* (*Śrughna*) (R. L. Mitra & Cunningham); during the reign of the Śuṅgas (Bühler, Hultzsch, Lüders). *Gotiputa*=*Kautsiputtra* (C); *Gauptiputra* (HL). *Āgaraju*=*Agarāja* or *Agrarāja* (Mitra & Cunningham); *Aṅgāradyut* (Bühler,

Hultzsch, Lüders) ; *Silā-kammaṃto* = ornamented stone work (Mitra) ; stone-work (H L) ; masonry (H) ; works of piety, spiritual merit (C). *Upaṃṇa* = Upāna, plinth (Mitra) ; *Utpanna* or *Uppanna*, gained, produced (C) ; arose (H). *Gāgīputa* = *Gârgeyiputtra* (Mitra), born of the Queen of the *Gârgeya* family (C). "The usage of calling sons after their mothers was caused, not by polyandria, as some Sanskritists have suggested, but by the prevalence of polygamy, and it survives among the Rajputs to the present day. In private conversation I have often heard a *Kuwar* called the 'son of the *Solankani*,' or of the *Gohilani*, &c. Here you will observe the Rani is called according to her family name, not according to her proper name ; and you will know, from intercourse with the Rajputs, that the Ranis are always mentioned in that manner. Now all the metronymica of the ancient kings and teachers, both Buddhistic and Brahmanical, are formed by a female family name with the word *putra*. Thus we have *Vasishthiputra*, or *Vasithiputra*, *Sâtakarni*, &c., and these names ought to be translated, 'son of the (wife) of the Vasishtha family,' &c. The name was just intended to distinguish the king or teacher from the other sons of his father by naming his mother according to her family name. There is another point connected with these metronymica which deserves attention : *viz.*, that the family names are all those of Brahmanical *gotras*. The explanation of this fact is that in accordance with the precepts of the Smriti, the Rajas were considered members of the *gotras* of their purohitas, and called themselves after the latter" (Bühler). The Pâli canonical literature contains a typical instance of metronymica in the expression *Rājā Māgadho Ajātasattu Vedehiputto* where the name of the mother of the king does not seem to have been connected with any *Ṛṣi* or *Purohita*. One cannot be quite certain about the identification of *Gotiputa* with either *Gauptīputra* as suggested by Hultzsch and Lüders or *Kautsīputra* as suggested by Cunningham and others. In some of the Sanchi and Sonari Stûpa Inscriptions we come across the name of a *Gotiputa* corresponding to the Pâli *Koṭiputta*. It is difficult to say whether *Goti* was an *apabhraṃśa* of *Koṭi* or *vice versa*, whether *Koṭi* or *Goti* was originally derived from the name of a tribe and country or from that of any *Ṛṣi* or *Purohita*. Dr. Bühler is responsible for the equation of *Āgaraju* with *Aṅgāradyut*, which is but another name of *Maṅgalagraha*, the Mercury. It is difficult to understand the phonetic change of *Aṅgāra* into *Āgara*, while the change of *Agra* into *Āga* is very common in some of the modern Indian Vernaculars. *Rajusa* may have been used as a Genitive singular of *Rāja*, or else it may have been a clerical mistake for *Rājasa*.] N

B. [Pillar of] Gateway at Batanmara.

2. Sagāna raja ...
Agaraju ...
toranaṃ ... BT
Sugānaṃ raje
Āgaraju
toraṇaṃ CT (2)

"Within the dominion of the Śuṅgas the Gateway (has been caused to be made by a donor related to *Āgaraju.*) (?) Tr

[C. p. 128, G.P.I. 2 (Pl. LIII)—reads *Saganam, rajña.* L. No. 681.] N

C. [Pillar of] Gateway at Batanmara.

3. ... hena
... toranamca
... kata. BT
... tena
... toraṇaṃ ca
... kata CT (3)

"The Gateway and [the ornamental designs] have been made [by a donor who was the son of somebody whose name is effaced.]" Tr

[C. p. 128, G.P.I. 3 (Pl. LIII). L. No. 689.] N

2. Votive Labels on Pillars (Stambhas.): (*a*) Pillar I—S. E. Quadrant.

1. Vedisā Cāpadevāya* Revatimitabhāriyāya paṭhamo thabho dānaṃ. BT (4)
"First pillar—the gift of Cāpādevī, the wife of Revatīmitra, a lady from Vidiśā." Tr

[**devāyā* (BT). C. p. 132 ; Pl. 1 (Pl. LIII). H. No. 22. L. No. 712—translates—"Gift of the first pillar by *Cāpadevā*, wife of *Revatimita Revatimitra*) from *Vedisa* (*Vidiśā*)." "Vedisa is the old name of

Besnagar, a ruined city situated in the fork of the Bes or Vedisa river and the Betwa within two miles of Bhilsa. The inscription is engraved on the first pillar of the Railing next to the Gateway" (C).] N

(b) Pillar II—S. E. Quadrant.

2. Bhadṃtasa Aya-Bhutarakhitasa Khujatidukiyasa dānaṃ. BT (5)

"The gift of the Most Gentle Master Bhūtarakṣita of Kubjatinduka." Tr

[C. p. 132; PI. 2 (Pl. LIII)—reads Bhūta. H. No. 23. L. 713. According to C's rendering *Bhadaṃta* is the designation of a lay brother, while *Aya* or *Ârya* is a designation which is the same in meaning as the English Reverend. H renders the two designations alike, *i.e.*, as Reverend, in all other instances but those where *Bhadaṃta* and *Aya* are both used. L leaves them untranslated. In the Pâli Piṭaka texts *Bhadanta* has been used only with reference to the Buddha as a mark of respect.[1] In a later Pâli formula of invocation the deities are addressed as *Bhaddantā*, a mode of address which corresponds to the English 'Gentlemen' or the Bengali '*Bhadramahodaygaṇ*.' This latter spelling leaves no room for doubt that *Bhadanta* has connection with the Sk. and Pâli *Bhadra* and can, therefore, be sanskritised as *Bhadrânta*, corresponding to a Bengali expression like '*Bhadrer Śeṣ*,' or '*Yār-par-nāi-bhadra*,' i.e., 'gentle to the extreme' 'perfectly gentle,' or 'perfect gentleman.' In the inscriptions recording the gift of three cave-dwellings made by Daśaratha, Aśoka's successor, the Âjīvikas or Ājīvika mendicants, to whom the gift is made, are referred to as *Bhadanta* Ājīvikas, while in Aśoka's inscriptions they are introduced simply as Ājīvikas. There is only one inscription, L. No. 99, in which *Bhadata* or *Bhadaṃta* is used as the distinctive] title of a Jaina monk. As regards Buddhist literature, the Milinda is perhaps the oldest work in which *Bhadanta* occurs as a mode of address of a Buddhist *Thera* who attained Arhatship and was proficient in the art of argument on all questions relating to Buddhism. In the Brahmanical writings *Bhadanta* is nowhere met with as a mode of address or a specific designation of a teacher. There are on the other hand numerous inscriptions in which *Bhadata, Bhadaṃta* or *Bhayaṃta* is met with as the title or honorific designation of the Buddhist monks—*Bhikṣus* and *Sthaviras*. There can be no doubt that *Bhadanta* carries with it primarily the idea

[1] *Bhadante' ti te Bhikkhū bhagavato paccassosuṃ.*

of gentleness. It is only in a secondary or derivative sense that the term denotes a person worthy of respect or veneration. There is some difference between 'Revernd Sir' and 'Venerable Sir,' the latter expression being applicable to persons of old age, to those who have become *Thera* or *Sthavira*. But we have got to decide whether *Bhadata* or *Bhadanta* has been applied in the Buddhist inscriptions as a general term of respect for all *Bhikṣus* or only for those who are *Sthaviras*. There are some inscriptions in which both *Thera* and *Bhadanta* are employed as designations of the Buddhist Bhikṣu, *e.g.*, L. Nos. 451, 987, 993, 1006, 1007, 1012, 1020, 1040, 1041, 1060, 1080, 1081, 1082, 1083, 1089, 1094, 1171, 1223, 1250, 1289. It seems to be beyond any doubt that the term *Thera* is employed in addition to *Bhadanta* in order to denote a senior monk just in the same way that the term *Therī* is used in L. No. 1006, instead of *Bhikhuni* or *Bhichuni* to distinguish a senior Buddhist Sister from an ordinary nun. So far as the Barhut Inscriptions are concerned, *Bhadaṃta* seems to have been used not as a term of respect for denoting an elderly member of the Buddhist order but simply as general designation of a *Bhikhu* or *Bhichu* as distinguished from a *Bhikhuni* or *Bhichuni*. We find that in instances where the donor happens to be a Buddhist nun, she is distinctly introduced as *Bhikhuni* or *Bhichuin*, while in cases the donor is a monk, he is not called by contrast a *Bhikhu* or *Bhichu*. The distinctive designation used in the case of a monk donor is *Bhadaṃta* and *Aya*. Among the Sanchi and Sonari inscriptions, on the other hand, we notice that in instances where the reference is to a deceased *Thera*, his characteristic designation is *Sapurisa*—'The good Man.' Further, we notice that in the labels in which the donor is expressly called a *Bhikhu* or *Bhichu*, the designation *Bhadaṃta* or *Aya* is dispensed with, and *vice versa*. But coming to somewhat later Votive inscriptions couched in languages more or less affected by the Sanskrit phonology such as those found in Mathurā and other places, *Bhadanta* is applied as the designation of a monk donor who is also described as a *Bhikṣu* or *Śākya Bhikṣu*. Even there is an inscription at Amarāvatī, L. No. 240, in which *Bhayaṃtī (Bhadantī)* is met with as the designation of a Buddhist nun. Thus these later Buddhist inscriptions can be shown to have made explicit what was implicit in the earlier ones. If *Bhadaṃta* be taken to be a general designation of a *Bhikṣu*, how does it differ from *Aya*, *Ariya*, or *Árya* equally applied as the designation of a *Bihkṣu* or a *Bhikṣuṇī* with or without the additional designation *Bhadanta* or *Bhadantī* preceding it? It would be idle to dispute that *Aya* or Ārya is a specific designation of a *Bhikṣu* or of a *Bhikṣuṇī*. Those who do so can be referred to a large number

of the Jaina inscriptions that unmistakably prove the case. At all events, the Barhut label under notice shows that both *Bhadaṃta* and *Aya* were employed as designations of a *Bhikṣu*. If so, what is the possible difference between the two? In a passage of the Vinaya Sutta-vibhaṅga a number of *Theras* are referred to as *Ayyas*: "*Ayyo Sāriputto, Ayyo Mahāmoggallāno, Ayyo Mahākaccāno, Ayyo Mahākoṭṭhito, Ayyo Mahākoppino, Ayyo Mahācundo, Ayyo Anuruddho, Ayyo Revato. Ayyo Upāli, Ayyo Ānando, Ayyo Rāhulo.*" All of these *Theras* were either *Arahats* or at least occupied one of the eight *Aryan* ranks. In one of the Amarāvatī inscriptions, L. 1280, *Ayira (Ārya)* is applied as the designation of a monk donor who is said to have been an *Arhat*. Who is an *Aya* or *Ārya*? According to general usage, an *Aryan* is one whose condition is not servitude and one who is cultured. To the Buddhist, an *Aryan* is one who is not slave to passions, customs, conventions and dogmas, and is on the contrary, inwardly free and thoroughly enlightened, and lives a self-conscious life, always mindful and aware of the facts of experience. Master is the English word whereby *Aya* can be adequately rendered. *Bhadaṃta* is a common designation of all *Bhikhus* or male members of the Buddhist monastic order, while *Aya* is the title of address of those *Bhikhus* who are advanced in Aryanhood.] N

3. Aya-Gorakhitasa thabho dānaṃ. BT (6)
"The pillar-gift of the Noble Master Gorakṣita." Tr

[C. p. 132; Pl. 4 (Pl. LIII)—omits *thabho*. H, No. 25. L. No. 715.] N

4. Aya-Paṃthakasa thaṃbho dānaṃ. BT (7)
"The pillar-gift of the Noble Master Panthaka." Tr

[C. p. 132; Pl. 5 (Pl. LIII)—H. No, 26. L. No. 716. Cf. L. No. 473—*Bhichu Paṃthaka.*] N

(*c*) Pillar VI—S. E. Quadrant.

5. Dabhinikāya Mahamukhisa dhitu Badhikaya bhichuniya dānaṃ. BT
Daṃbhinikāya Mahāmukhisa dhitu Bodhikāya bhichuniyā dānaṃ. CT (8)

"The gift of Mahāmukhya's daughter—the nun Daṃbhinikā Bodhikā—Bodhikā from Darbha (?)" Tr

[C. p. 132; PI. 7 (Pl. LIII)—reads *Dhita-badhikaya*. H. No. 27. L. No. 718 cf. *Bodhi* as a name in L. Nos. 368, 490, 639, 1041, etc.] N

6. Pāṭaliputā Nāgasenāya Koḍiyāniyā dānaṃ. BT (9) (*d*) Pillar VII—S.E. Quadrant.
"The gift of Nāgasenā of the Kauṇḍiṇya family, from Pāṭaliputra." Tr

[C. p. 132; PI. 8. (Pl. LIII). H. No. 21—*Koḍiyāni* might be the feminine of *Koḍiya*; it might also correspond to the patronymic *Kauṇḍiṇyāyani*, cf. *Kaccāna* = *Kātyāyana*; *Moggallāna* = *Maudgalyāyana*, L. No. 719.] N

7. Samanāyā bhikhuniyā Cudaṭhilikāyā dānaṃ. BT (*e*) Pillar VIII—S.E. Quadrant.
Sumanāya bhikhuniyā Cuṃdaṭhilikāya dānaṃ. CT (10)
"The gift of the nun Cundaṭhilikā Sumanā—Sumanā from Cundasthalī." Tr

[C. p. 132; P. 2. (Pl. LIII). H. No. 29—equates *Samanā* with *Śramaṇā*. L. No. 720.] N

8. Bahaḍagojaṭiranatana (?) Isārakhitaputasa Anaṃdasa thabho. BT (*f*) Pillar IX—S. E. Quadrant.

Bahaḍagojaṭirasa dānaṃ (?) Isirakhitaputasa Anaṃdasa thaṃbho. CT (11)
"The pillar—a gift of Ānanda, son of Ṛṣirakṣita, from Bahatagojatīra (?)." Tr

[C. p. 133; PI. 10 (Pl. LIII)—reads °*gajatira*°. L. No. 721.] N

9. Bhojakaṭakāya Diganagāye bhichuniyā dānaṃ. BT (*g*) Pillar X—S. E. Quadrant.
Bhojakaṭakāya Diganāgāya bhichuniyā dānaṃ. CT (12)
"The gift of the nun Diṅnāgā from Bhojakata." Tr

[C. p. 133; PI. 12 (Pl. LIII). reads° *gaye*, H. No. 31. L. No. 723.] N

(*h*) Pillar XII—S.E. Quadrant.

10. Bibikānadikaṭa-Budhino gahapatino dānaṃ. BT
Biṃbikānadikaṭa-Bodhino gahapatino dānaṃ. CT (13)
"The gift of the householder Bodhi from Bimbikānadikata." Tr

[C. p. 133; PI. 14 (Pl. L. III)—reads *Dikita=Dikṣita*. H. No. 33—equates *nadi* with *nandi*, and *Budhi* with *Buddhi*. L. No. 725.] N

(*i*) Pillar XIII—S.E. Quadrant.

11. Dhamagutasa dānaṃ thabho. BT (14)
"The gift of Dharmagupta—a pillar." Tr

[C. p. 133; PI. 16 (Pl. LIII). H. No. 35. L. No. 727. Read *thaṃbho*.] N

(*j*) Pillar XIV—S.E. Quadrant.

12. Bibikānadikaṭa-Suladhasa asavārikasa dānaṃ. BT (15)
"The gift of (a scene of a trooper by) the trooper sulabdha from Bimbikānadikata." Tr

[C. p. 133; PI. 17 (Pl. LIII)—reads *Dikati*. H. No. 36. L. No. 728. *Asavārika=Aśvavāra*—a borrowing from Old Persian *Asabāri* found in the cuneiform inscriptions, whence modern Persian *Swár*. In modern Indian languages the word occurs as *Aswár*, *Swár*.] N

(*k*) Pillar XV—S.E. Quadrant.

13. Pusasa thaṃbho dānaṃ. BT (16)
"The pillar-gift of Puṣya." Tr

[C. p. 133; PI. 18 (Pl. LIII)—reads *thabho*. H. No. 37. L. 729.] N

(*l*) Pillar XVI—S.E. Quadrant.

14. Dhamarakhitasa dānaṃ. BT (17)
"The gift of Dharmarakṣita." Tr

[C. p. 133; Pl. 23 (Pl. LIII). H. No. 41. L. No. 734. Read *Dhama*.] N

(*m*) Pilla LIV—S. Gate-Corner Pillars.

15. Aya-Isidinasa bhānakasa dānaṃ. BT (18)
"The gift of the Noble Master Ṛṣidatta, the Reciter." Tr

[C. p. 134; Pl. 27 (Pl. LIV). H. No. 45. Ho. No. 11. L. No. 738. C. takes *Bhānaka* to be the name of a place. *Bhānaka*=the Preacher (HL). *Bhānaka* is not the name of a place, it is simply an epithet. The word *Bhānaka* does not technically denote a preacher. Preaching is rather the function of a *Kathī* or *Kathika*. The essentialduty of a *Bhānaka* consists in the recitation or rehearsal of the sacred texts with a view to preserving and handing them down by oral tradition. In Buddha's own words we can trace two expressions *Vādī*, meaning the upholder of an opinion, the propounder of a view, and *Kathī* or *Kathika*, denoting a preacher or an instructor. According to tradition, the institution of *Bhānakas* was of a somewhat later origin. The earliest tradition regarding the rise of the *Bhānakas* is to be found in Buddhaghoṣa's Sumaṅgala-Vilāsinī. This tradition is repeated in a much later work—the Mahābodhivaṃsa with a slight variation. According to this tradition, it so happened that during the session of the first Buddhist Council as soon as the *Vinaya* was recited and the *Vinaya* texts were compiled, the preservation of the *Vinaya* traditions and texts by regular recitation was entrusted to the care of the Venerable Upāli; when in the course of rehearsal of the *Dhamma* the *Dīghágama* or *Dígha-Nikāya* came to be compiled, the preservation of this text was entrusted to the care of the Venerable Ānanda; in a similar way the presservation of the *Majjhimágama* or *Majjhima-Nikāya* was entrusted to the care of the disciples of Sāriputta, that of *Saṃyuttágama* or *Saṃyutta-Nikāya* was entrusted to the care of the Venerable Kassapa, that of the *Ekuttarágama* or *Aṅguttara-Nikāya* was entrusted to the care of the Venerable Anuruddha. Thus one is to conceive the rise of five Schools of *Bhānakas*, to wit, *Vinaya-bhānakā*, *Dīgha-bhānakā*, *Majjhima-bhānakā*, *Saṃyutta-bhānakā* and *Aṅguttara-bhānakā*. But curiously enough, throughout the Buddhist literature we nowhere meet with the expression *Vinaya-bhānakā*, while in Buddhaghoṣa's commentaries the views of the *Dīgha-bhānakas* and the rest are quoted by name and discussed. Even we have mention of *Dhammapada-bhānakā* in the Atthasālinī.[1] Buddhaghoṣa is really reticent about the origin of *Khuddaka-bhānakā*, though he expressly states that the *Khuddakágama* or *Khuddaka-Nikāya* consisted of the books of the *Vinaya* as well as the *Abhidhamma-Piṭaka* in addition to the 12 or 15 books belonging to the *Sutta-Piṭaka*.[2] He does not explain why, if the *Vinaya* books were comprised within the *Khuddaka-Nikāya*, the *Vinaya* traditions were separately placed in charge of Upāli. Moreover, in the Mahābodhivaṃsa

[1] Atthasālinī, p. 18.

[2] Sumaṅgala-Vilāsinī, I. p. 12f.

we read that the *Khuddaka-Nikāya*, comprising the books of the *Abhidhamma-Piṭaka* and some books of the *Sutta-Piṭaka* was jointly rehearsed by the *Sthaviras* of the First Council and that the preservation of these texts was committed to the care of them all.[1] In a passage of the Milinda [2] we have, among the citizens of the ideal *Dhammanagara*, the mention of :—

1. *Suttantikā*—Masters in the *Suttanta*, i.e., in the *Sutta-Piṭaka* ;
2. *Vinayikā*—Masters in the *Vinaya*, i.e., in the *Vinaya-Piṭaka* ;
3. *Ābhidhammikā*—Masters in the *Abhidhamma*, i.e., in the *Abhidhamma-Piṭaka* ;
4. *Dhammakathikā*—The preachers of the *Dhamma* ;
5. *Jātaka-bhānakā*—The repeaters of *Jātakas* ;
6. *Dīgha-bhānakā*—The repeaters of the *Dīgha-Nikāya* ;
7. *Majjhima-bhānakā*—The repeaters of the *Majjhima-Nikāya* ;
8. *Saṃyutta-bhānakā*—The repeaters of the *Saṃyutta-Nikāya* ;
9. *Aṅguttara-bhānakā*—The repeaters of the *Aṅguttara-Nikāya* ;
10. *Khuddaka-bhānakā*—The repeaters of the *Khuddaka-Nikāya*.

Two facts are quite clear from this passage. First, that the function of a *Dhammakathika* was different from that of a *Bhānaka*. Secondly, that in the time of the Milinda there were in the country at least six schools of repeaters of *Jātakas* and those of the five *Nikāyas* (*passim* p. 27), which clearly proves that there was a separate collection of Commentary-*Jātakas* apart from one included in the *Khuddaka-Nikāya*. The first four *Nikāyas*, most of the *Vinaya* books and some books of the *Khuddaka-Nikāya* and the *Abhidhamma-Piṭaka* contain, beside the chapter arrangement of contents, divisions according to *Bhānavāras* or portions recited at a time. We can imagine that the *Bhānakas* represented, in institutions for popular instruction, persons noted for their power of memory and extemporasing. The institution of *Bhānakas* has continued and survives till to-day in India and other eastern countries, where one can meet a number of persons getting things by heart for the purpose of recitation without any attempt to grasp their meaning.] N

[1] Mahābodhivaṃsa, p. 92. [2] Milinda, p. 341 f.

16. Yasika..... BT
Yasika [sa dānaṃ (?)]. FT (19)
'The gift of Yaśika' (?) Tr

[C. p. 135, Pl. 46 (Pl. LIV). L. No. 757.] N

17. Sonāya dānaṃ thabho. BT (20)
"The gift of Śravaṇā—a pillar." Tr

(*n*) Pillars of Railings—S. W. Quadrant.

[C. p. 135 ; Pl. 47 (Pl. LIV). L. No. 758.] N

18. Cekulana-Saghamitasa thabho dānaṃ. BT (21)
"The pillar-gift of Saṅghamitra Cekulana—the inhabitant of Cikula (?)." Tr

[C.p. 135 ; Pl. 48 (Pl. IIV)—reads *cakulanam* and *Sanghamitasa*. H. N. 64. (1). I. No. 758.] N

19. Nāgaye bhichuniye dānaṃ. BT
Nāgāya bhichuniyā dānaṃ. CT (22)
"The gift of Nāgā, the nun." Tr

[C. p. 135 ; Pl. 50 (Pl. LIV). H. No. 65. L No. 761.] N

20. Bhadaṃta-Valakasa Bhānakasa dānaṃ thabho. BT (23)
"The pillar—a gift of the Most Gentle Valaka, the Reciter." Tr

[C. p. 135 ; Pl. 51 (Pl. LIV). H. No. 65—reads dāna. L. No. 762.] N

21. Karahakaṭa-Aya-Bhutakasa thabho dānaṃ. BT (24)
"The pillar-gift of the Noble Master Bhūtaka of Karahakata." Tr

[C. p. 135 ; Pl. 52 (Pl. LIV)—reads *cayabhu*. H. No. 67. L. No. 763. H and L retain the name Bhutaka.] N

22. Kosabeyekaya bhikuniya Venuvagāmiyāya
Dhamārakhitāyā dānaṃ. BT
Kosaṃbeyakāya Bhikhuniyā Veṇuvagāmiyāya
Dhaṃmarakhitāya dānaṃ. CT (25)
"The gift of the nun Dharmarakṣitā of Veṇugrāma
in the suburb of Kauśāmbī." Tr

[C. p. 135; Pl. 53 (Pl. LIV). L. No. 754. *Venuvagāma* = *Venuvagrāma* (C): *Veṇuvagrāma* (L), *Venuvagrāma* or '*Bambutowa*' may be identified, according to C, with the village *Bau-pūrva* still existing to the north-east of Kosam. Cf. *Kosambiya-Sutta* (Majjhima-Nikāya); *Kosambī-Jātaka* (F No. 428); *Kosambiyanagara* (F. Vol. p. 239).] N

23. Bhadata-Mahilasa thabho dānaṃ. BT (26)
"The pillar-gift of the Most Gentle Madhvila (?)." Tr

[C. p. 136; Pl. 56 (Pl. LIV). H. No. 69. L. No. 766. *Mahila* = *Mahila* (C H L). The correct reading of *Mahila* may be *Mihila* = *Mihira* of L. Nos. 20, 21, 22.] N

24. Karahakaṭā Samikasa dānaṃ thabho. BT (27)
"The pillar—a gift of 'Samika' of Karahakata.." Tr

[C. p. 136; Pl. 56 (Pl. LIV). H. No. 70—equates *Samika* with *Śyāmaka*. L. No 767. *Samika* can as well be equated with *Śamika* or *Svāmika*.] N

25. Bhadata-Samakasa thabho dānaṃ. BT (28)
"The pillar-gift of the Most Gentle Śamaka
(Śyāmaka?)." Tr.

[C. p. 136; Pl. 57 (Pl. LIV). H. No. 71. L No. 768. Samaka =Syāmaka (H L).] N

26. ... ratā bhikhuniya thabho dānaṃ. BT (C)
... to bhikhuniyā thabho dānaṃ. BT (H)
... ya bhikhuniyā thaṃbho dānaṃ. CT

Connecting this with the fragment with four letters yielding the reading Avāsikā (C. p. 143), the inscription may be completed as :—

[Āvāsikā] [ya bhikhuniyā thaṃbho dānaṃ]. FI (29)

" The pillar-gift of the nun of the local monastic abode." (?) Tr

[C. p. 136 ; PI. 61 (Pl. LIV). H. No. 74. L. No. 772. In justification of the above restoration and rendering, it may be noticed that in all other labels but this, the name of *Bhikhuni* is invariably mentioned. The fragment supplied contains a word which is evidently anything but a personal name. What is more, four letters of the fragment precisely supply the four letters missing from the Pillar-inscription under notice. See FI. No. 3 *passim*.] N

27. Bhadatasa Aya-Isipālitasa Bhānakasa Navakamikasa dānaṃ. BT (30)

(*o*) Corner Pillars — W. Gate.

" The gift of the Most Gentle and Noble Master Ṛṣipālita, the reciter and superintendent of building-operations (connected with a Buddhist monastic residence)." Tr

[C. p. 136 ; PI. 62 (Pl. LIV). Ho. No. 24. H. No. 76. L. No. 773. For the meaning of *Navakaṃmika*, see the Vinaya Texts, S.B.E., Pt. III pp. 189 foll. Cf. *Navakamika* in L. Nos. 154, 987 ; *Navakamaka* in L. No. 1250 ; *Navakamika* in L. No. 23.] N

28. Moragirimha Nāgilāyā bhikhuniyā dānaṃ thabhā. BT
Moragirimhā Nāgilāya bhikhuniyā dānaṃ thaṃbho. CT (31)

(*p*) Pillars of Railing— N. W. Quadrant.

" The pillar—a gift of Nāgilā, the nun, from Mayūragiri." Tr

[C. p. 137 ; PI. 67 (Pl. LIV)—reads °*girihma*. H. No. 81 (1). L. No. 778. Cf. *Mayūraparvata*—a locality referred to in a quotation of tho Caraṇavyūhabhāṣya ; Bühler's Āpastamba, S.B.E., Introd. p. XXXI, f.n. ; Schroeder's Maitrāyaṇi-Saṃhitā, p. XXIV. *Thabhā* = pillars (H L).] N

29. Vedisā Phagudevasa dānaṃ. BT (32)
"The gift of Phalgudeva from Vidiśā." Tr

[C. p. 137; PI. 69 (Pl. LIV)—reads *Vedisa*. H. No. 82. L. No. 780.] N

30. Purikāya dāyakana dānaṃ. BT
Purikāya dāyakānaṃ dānaṃ. CT (33)
"The gift of the lay supporters of monastic establishments at Purikā." Tr

[C. p. 137; PI. 71 (Pl. LIV)—reads °*daya*, H. No. 83. L. No. 782. *Dāyaka* a giver (Childers); a donor (H L). Here *dāyaka* seems to have been used in its later Buddhist technical sense to deno te a Buddhist donor who undertakes or is held responsible for the maintenance of a monastic establishment. Here *Purikā* is definitely a faminine form.] N

31. Vedisā Anurādhāya dānaṃ. BT (34)
"The gift of Anurādhā from Vidiśā." Tr

[C. p. 137; PI. 73 (Pl. LIV).—reads °*radhaya*. H. No. 85. L. No. 784.] N

(*q*) Corner Pillar — N. Gate.

32. .....[m]ika[sa dānaṃ]. BT (H)
[Bhadata...bhānakasa navakam]ika[sa dānaṃ]. BT (35)
"The gift of [the Most Gentle..., the reciter and superintendent of monastic building-operations.]" Tr

[C. Pl. XIX. H. No 154. L. No. 787.] N

(*r*) Displaced Pillar.

33. Bhadata-Kanakasa bhānakasa thabho dānaṃ Cikulaniyasa. BT (36)
"The pillar-gift of the Most Gentle Kanaka of Cikulana (Citkula?)" Tr

[C. p. 137; PI. 77 (Pl. LIV)—reads *Kanadasa*. H. No. 88. L. No. 789. Cf. *Cekulana*, PI. 18 *ante*.] **N**

(s) Railing Pillars — N. E. Quadrant.

34. Bhadata-Budharakhitasa Saṭupadānasa dānaṃ thabho. BT

Bhadaṃta-Budharakhitasa Saṭupadānikasa dānaṃ thaṃbho. CT (37)

"The pillar—a gift of the Most Gentle Buddharakṣita who is adept in the practice and experiences of mindfulness." Tr

[C. p. 138; PI. 80 (Pl. IV)—reads °*padanasa*. H. No. 90. L. No. 792. *Saṭupadāna* who is versed in science (H); *Saṭupadāna* seems to be a monumental Prakrit counterpart of the Pâli *Satipaṭṭhāna* or *Satipaṭṭhānika* and the Sanskrit *Smṛaityupasthāna* or *Smṛaityupasthānika*. Like *Peṭaki*, this particular epithet of a *Bhikṣu* is met with only among the Barhut Votive Labels. *Saṭupadāna* does not appear to be a patronymic derived from the name of a place.] N

35. Moragirimhā Pusāyā* dānaṃ thabhā† BT (38)

"Pillars—the gift of Puṣyā from Mayūragiri." Tr

[*Read *Pusāya*. †*Thabho* may have been intended by the scribe. C. p. 138; PI. 84 (Pl. IV)—reads *thabho*. H. No. 94. L. No. 796.] N

36. Aya-Culasa Sutaṃtikasa Bhogavaḍhaniyasa dānaṃ. BT (39)

"The gift of the Noble Master Kṣudra, the Sautrântika, of Bhogavardhana." Tr

[C. p. 138; PI. 95 (Pl. LV).H. No. 95. L. No. 797. *Sutaṃtika*= one versed in the Sūtrântas (H L). Cf. *Sutatika* in L. No. 635; *Sutatakini* or *Sutatikini* in L. Nos. 319, 352. The term *Suttantika* in the sense of a master in the *Sūtránta* as distinguished from the *Vinaya* and the *Abhidnamma* occurs in the Milinda (*See* note on *Bhānaka sub* PI. 15 *ante*). Evidently this term came to replace the older expression *Suttadhara* which is met with in the Mahāparinibbāna and other *Suttas*. Here the term might be taken as well to denote an adherent of the *Suttavāda* or *Sautrántika* school. The point cannot however be decided unless the relative date of the Barhut inscriptions and the rise of the school is ascertained.] N

37. Moragirimhā Thupadāsasa dānaṃ thabhā. BT (40)
"Pillars—the gift of Stūpadāsa from Mayūragiri." Tr

[C. p. 138; Pl. 8 (Pl. LV)—reads *thabho*. H. No. 96. L. No. 796.] N

38. Nāsika-Gorakhitāya thabho dānaṃ Vasukasa bhariyāya. BT (41)
"The pillar-gift of Gorakṣitā, the wife of Vasuka of Nāsika." Tr

[C. p. 138; Pl. 87 (Pl. LV). L. No. 799.] N

39. Maharasa aṃtevāsino Aya-Samakasa thabho dānaṃ. BT (42)
"The pillar-gift of Mahara (Madhvara?) the resident pupil of the Noble Master Śyāmaka (Śamaka?)." Tr

[C. p. 138; Pl. 11 (Pl. LV). H. No. 97. L. No. 800. According to H L the label records the gift of *Ārya Śyāmaka*, the disciple of *Mahara*. *Mahara* may here be regarded as a misreading for *Mihira*, cf. *Mahila* Pl. 22 *ante*.] N

40. [Pusadātaye Nagarikaye bhichuniye] [Sakāya thabho dānaṃ]. BT
[Pusadatāya Nāgarikāya bhichuniyā] [Sakāya thaṃbho dānaṃ]. CT (43)
"The pillar-gift of Puṣyadattā, the Buddhist nun, of Nagarī." Tr

[C. p. 138; Pl. 93 and 90 (Pl. LV)—counts two labels. L. Nos. 806 and 803. Is *Sakā* = Śakrā or Śākyā?] N

(*t*) Pillars at Batanmara.

41. Naṃdagirino bhānakasa Selapurakasa thabho dānaṃ. BT (44)
"The pillar-gift of Nandagiri, the Reciter, of Śailapura." Tr

[C p. 138; Pl. 91 (Pl. LV). L. No. 804.] N

42. Moragiri-Jitamitasa dānaṃ. BT (45)
"The gift of Jitamitra of Mayūragiri." Tr

[C. p. 139; PI. 95 (Pl. LV). L. 808.] N

43. Karahakaṭa-Utaragidhikasa thabho dānaṃ. BT (46)
"The pillar-gift of Uttaragṛhika (?) of Karahakata." Tr

[C. p. 139; PI. 96 (LV). L. No. 809—*gidhika=gṛdhraka.*] N

44. Culadhakasa Purikāya Bhatudesakasa dānaṃ. BT (47) (*u*) Pillars at Pataora.
"The gift of 'Culadhaka' (Kṣudrândhraka ?) the superintendent of the distribution of food in a monastery of Purikā." Tr

[C. p. 139; PI. 99 (Pl. LV)—takes *Bhatúdesaka* to be the name of a place. L. No. 812. *Bhatúdesaka*=Pâli *Bhattuddesaka.*] N

45. Vedisa-Ayamāya dānaṃ. BT (48)
"The gift of Āryamā(?) of Vidiśā."

[C. p. 139; PI. 100 (Pl. LV)—reads *Maya.* L. No. 813. *Aya Māya*=the reverend *Māyā* (C).] N

1, Sapagutaye bhichuniye dānaṃ. BT 3. Votive Labels on Rail-bars (suci). (*a*) S. W. quadrant.
Sapagutāya bhichuniyā dānaṃ. CT (49)
"The gift of the nun Sarpaguptā." Tr

[C. p. 139; RI. 1 (Pl. LV). L. No. 815.] N

2. Pāṭaliputā Koḍiyāniyā Sakaṭadevāya dānaṃ. BT (50)
"The gift of Śakaṭadevī, a lady of the Kauṇḍiṇya family, from Pāṭaliputra."

[*°vāyā (BT). C. p. 139; RI. 2 (Pl. LV). H. No. 100. L. No. 816. C reads *Sakaja. Sakaṭadevā* seems to be the wife of a noble or prince of *Pāṭaliputra.* It is difficult to ascertain whether she was born

of a *Brahmin* or a *Kṣatriya* family. She came of the same family or class belonging to the *Kauṇḍiṇya* gotra to which *Nāgasenā*, the female donor of a pillar, belonged.] N

3. Kākaṃdiya-Somāya bhichuniya dānaṃ. BT
Kākaṃdiya-Somāya bhichuniyā dānaṃ. CT (51)
"The gift of the nun Somā of Kākandī." Tr

[C. p. 139; RI. 3 (Pl. LV). H. No. 101. L. No. 817. *Cf. Kākandī* in the Jaina *Paṭṭāvalī* of the *Kharataragaccha* (IA. XI, p. 247). It was the birthplace of a Jaina Tīrthaṅkara. See reference to Kākandī in the Paramattha-jotikā, Sutta-Nipāta-Comy., V. 300.] N

4. Pāṭaliputā Mahīdasenasa danaṃ. BT
Pāṭaliputā Mahīdasenasa dānaṃ. CT (52)
"The gift of Mahendrasena from Pāṭaliputra." Tr

[C. p. 139; RI. 4 (Pl. LV). H. No. 102. L. No. 818. Of the three donors from *Pāṭaliputra*, one is at least found to be male. Their names are recorded in three closely located labels. Moreover, the name of *Mahīdasena* connects him at once with *Nāgasenā*.] N

5. Cudaṭhīlikāyā Nāgadevāyā bhikhuniyi [dānaṃ]. BT
Cuṃdaṭhīlikāya Nāgadevāya bhikhuniyā dānaṃ. CT (53)
"The gift of the nun Nāgadevī of Cundasthalī (?)." Tr

[C. p. 139; RI. 5 (Pl. LV). H. No. 103. L. No. 819.] N

6. Cudaṭhīlikāya Kujarāyā dānaṃ. BT
Cuṃdaṭhīlikāya Kuṃjarāya dānaṃ. CT (54)
"The gift of Kuñjarā of Cundasthalī." Tr

[C. p. 139; RI. 6 (Pl. LV). H. No. 104. L. No. 820. This is the third label recording the gift of a female donor from *Cundasthalī*. A friend suggests that *Cudaṭhīlikā* might as well be equated with *Cūḷaṭhīlika* or *Cullaṭhīli*, meaning a hamlet.] N

7. Dhamaguta-matu Pusadevaya dānaṃ. BT
Dhaṃmaguta-mātu Pusadevāya dānaṃ. CT (55)
"The gift of Puṣyadevī, mother of Dharmagupta." Tr

[C. p. 139; RI. 7 (Pl. LV). H. No. 105. L. No. 821.] N

8-9. Ujhikāye dana. BT
Ujjhikāya dānaṃ. CT (59)
"The gift of Ujhikā." Tr
Dhamarakhitaya dāna suci. BT
Dhaṃmarakhitāya dānaṃ suci. CT (60)
"The gift of Dharmarakṣitā—a rail." Tr

[C. p. 139; RI. 8-9 (Pl. LV)—reads *Yajhikiyā* and *dānam*. H. No. 106. L. Nos. 822-823. *Ujhikā* means one who relinquishes or has relinquished, from √*ujjha* (to abandon, to throw off).] N

10. Atimutasa dānaṃ.* BT (61)
"The gift of Atimukta." Tr

[*danaṃ (BT). C. p. 139; RI. 10 (Pl. LV)—equates *Atimuta* with *Atrimuta*. H. No. 108. L. No. 824.] N

11. Nadutaraya dāna suci. BT
Naṃdutarāya dānaṃ suci. CT (62)
"The gift of Nandottarā—a rail." Tr

[C. p. 140; RI. 12 (Pl. LV). H. No. 110. L. No. 826.] N

*12. [Mu]ḍasa dānaṃ. BT (63) (b) S. gate.
"The gift of Muṇḍa." Tr

[C. p. 130; RI. 13 (Pl. LV). H. No. 111. L. No. 827.] N

*13. Isānasa dāna. BT
Īsānasa dānaṃ. CT (64)
"The gift of Īśāna." Tr

[C. p. 140; RI. 14 (Pl. LV). H. No. 112. L. No. 828.] N

*14. Isidatasa dānaṃ. BT (65)
"The gift of Ṛṣidatta." Tr

[C. p. 140; RI. 15 (Pl. LV). H. No. 113. L. No. 830. *Cf. Isidinasa* in PI. 15 *ante*.] N

*15. Aya-Punāvasuno suci dānaṃ. BT (66)
"The rail-gift of the Noble Master Punarvasu." Tr

[C. p. 140; RI. 16 (Pl. LV). H. No. 114. L. No. 831.] N

*16. Gagamitasa suci dānaṃ. BT (67)
"The rail-gift of Gargamitra." Tr

[C. p. 140; RI. 17 (Pl. LV). L. No. 832. *Gaga* ≡ *Gaṅga* ?] N

*17. Kanhilasa Bhānakasa dānaṃ. BT (68)
"The gift of Kṛṣṇala, the Reciter." Tr

[C. p. 140; RI. 18 (Pl. LV). L. No. 833.] N

(*c*) S. W. quadrant—continued.

18. Devarakhitasa dānaṃ. BT (69)
"The gift of Devarakṣita." Tr

[C. p. 140; RI. 19 (Pl. LV). H. No. 115. L. No. 834.] N

19. Vedisāto Bhutarakhitasa dānaṃ. BT (70)
"The gift of Bhūtarakṣita from Vidiśā." Tr

[C. p. 140; RI. 20 (Pl. LV)—reads *Vedisa tabhu*°. H. No. 116. L. No. 835.] N

20. Golāyā Pārikiniyā dānaṃ. BT
Golāya Pārikiniyá dānaṃ. CT (71)
"The gift of Pārikiṇī (Pārikā) from Golā." Tr

[C, p. 140; RI. 21 (Pl. LV), L. No. 836.] N

21. Purikayā Idadevāya dānaṃ. BT
Purikāya Iṁdadevāya dānaṃ. CT (72)
"The gift of Indradevī, a lady from Purikā." Tr

[C, p. 140; RI. 22 (Pl. LV), H. No. 117, L. N. 837.] N

22. Purikāyā Seṭaka-mātu dānaṃ. BT
Purikāya Seṭaka-mātu dānaṃ. CT (73)
"The gift of the mother of 'Seṭaka' from Purikā." Tr

[C, p. 140; RI. 23 (Pl. LVI), H. No. 118, L. No. 838. *Seṭaka* = *Śreṣṭhaka* (H L). Accepting this equation, the name may be taken to mean a dignitary, a man of substance, or a banker, it being = Bengali Śeṭ or Śeṭh. But it also might be equated with the Pāli *Setaka* or Sk. *Śvetaka*.] N

23. Purikāyā Sāmāya dānaṃ. BT
Purikāya Sāmāya dānaṃ. CT (74)
"The gift of Śyāmā from Purikā." Tr

[C, p. 140; RI. 24 (Pl. LVI), H. No. 119, L. No. 839.] N

24. Budharakhitāye dānaṃ bhichuniye. BT
Budharakhitāya dānaṃ bhichuniyā. CT (75)
"The gift of Buddharakṣitā, the nun." Tr

[C, p. 140; RI. 25 (Pl. LVI)—reads *bhikhuniya*. H. No. 120. L. No. 840.] N

25. Bhutaye bhichuniye dānaṃ. BT
Bhūtāya bhichuniyā dānaṃ. CT (76)
"The gift of the nun Bhūtā." Tr

[C. p. 140; RI. 26 (Pl. LVI). H. No. 121. L. No. 841.] N

26. Aya-Apikinakasa dānaṃ. BT (77)
Cf. Bhayaṃta-Aṃpikiṇaka [Bhājā Buddhist Stūpa Inscription, L. No. 1081.]
"The gift of the Noble Master Aprakīrṇa." Tr

[C. p. 140; RI. 27 (Pl. LVI). H. No. 122. L. No. 842.] N

27. Saghilasa dāna suci. BT
Saṃghilasa dānaṃ suci. CT (78)
"The gift of Saṅghila—a rail." Tr

[C. p. 140; RI. 28 (Pl. LVI). H. No. 123. L. No. 843. *Saṅghilaka* is mentioned in the Padmaprābhṛtaka as a Buddhist monk.[1] *Saṃghila*—a Buddhist monk in L. No. 321.] N

28. Sagharakhitasa mātāpituna aṭhāyā dānaṃ. BT
Saṃgharakhitasa mātāpitunaṃ aṭhāya dānaṃ. CT (79)
"The gift of Saṅgharakṣita for the sake of his parents." Tr

[C. p. 140; RI. 29 (Pl. LVI)—reads *mātapituna athaye*. H. No. 124. L. No. 844. *Aṭhāya* is rendered on account of (C); for the benefit of (HL). *Sagharakhita* or *Saṃgharakhita* occurs as the name of several householder donors, two of whom were bankers. L. Nos. 444, 469, 482, 558, 844, 1068, 1073, 1075, 1218, 1250.] N

29. Dhutasa suci dāno. BT
Dhūtasa suci dānaṃ. CT (80)
"The rail-gift of Dhūta." Tr

[C. p. 140; RI. 30 (Pl. LVI). H. No. 125. L. No. 845. *Dhuta*= *Dhūta* (HL), which seems to be incorrect. The masculine form of *dāna* may be due to the mason's oversight.] N

[1] Mr. Ramakrishna Kavi: Avantisundarī-kathā of Daṇḍin (Proceedings and Transactions, Second Oriental Conference, p. 1970).

30. Yakhilasa suci dāna[ṃ]. BT (81)
The rail-gift of Yakṣila." Tr

[C. p. 140; RI. 31 (Pl. LVI). H. No. 126. L. No. 846 *Yakhila* occurs as the name of two *Bhikṣu* donors in L. Nos. 376 and 480. Are the two donors really one and the same person ?] N

31. Mitasa suci dānaṃ. BT (82)
"The rail-gift of Mitra." Tr

[C. p. 140; RI. 32 (Pl. LVI)—reads *Sihasa*. H. No. 127. L. No. 847. *Cf.* L. No. 1068.] N

32. Isirakhitasa suci dānaṃ. BT (83)
"The rail-gift of Ṛṣirakṣita." Tr

[C. p. 141; RI. 33 (Pl. LVI). H. No. 128. L. No. 848. *Isirakhita* in L. Nos. 358, 404; a physician in L. No. 1048.] N

33. Sirimasa dānaṃ. BT (84)
"The gift of Śrīmat."

[C. p. 141; RI. 34 (Pl. LVI). H. No. 129. L. No. 849.] N

34. Bhadata-Devasenasa donaṃ. BT
Bhadaṃta-Devasenasa dānaṃ. CT (85)
"The gift of the Most Gentle Devasena." Tr

[C. p. 141; RI. 35 (Pl. LVI)—reads *dānaṃ*. H. No. 130—*o* of *donaṃ* probably represents a dimmed (*saṃvṛta*) pronunciation of *a*. L. No. 850. *Cf. Devasena*—a brother of *Sivasena* and *Sivadeva* in the Mathurā Jaina Inscription. L. No. 119.] N

35. ...kaya bhichuniya dānaṃ. BT (C)
...kāya bhichuniyā dānaṃ. CT (86)
"The gift of the nun [whose name is effaced except the last syllable]kā." Tr

[C. p. 141; RI. 36 (Pl. LVI). H. No. 131. L. No. 851.] N

36. Nadinagarikaya Idadevāya dānaṃ. BT
Naṃdinagarikāya Iṃdadevāya dānaṃ. CT (87)
"The gift of Indradevī, a lady from Nandinagara." Tr

[C. p. 141; RI. 37 (Pl. LVI). H. No. 132. L. No. 852. *Cf. Nadinagarikā* in L. Nos. 327, 383, 402, 536, 538, 604; *Nadinagarika* in L. Nos. 325, 369; *Naṃdinagarikā* in L. No. 305; *Naṃdinagaraka* in L. No. 502; *Naṃdinagara,* Nadinagara in L. Nos. 176, 328, 463-466, 512, 562.] N

37. Gosālasa mata (?) Gosālasa dānaṃ. BT (88)
"The gift of Gośāla." Tr

[C. p. 141; RI. 38 (Pl. LVI)—reads *Gopālasamata* (?); observes that the inscription is engraved twice on the same rail: first in thin and somewhat cursive letters, and second in thicker letters, as if the first record had been faulty or disapproved. C. also suggests that the inscription might be read as the 'gift of *Gośāla*, the mother of Gopāla. This suggestion has nothing but ingenuity to commend itself. It is apparent that here we have an instance of the engraver correcting his own oversight or attempting to make the label more legible. L. No. 853.] N

38. Kacula ?.....bhariyāya dānaṃ. BT (89)
"The gift of a female donor, the wife [of some gentleman whose name is] Kañcula." Tr

[C. p. 141; RI. 39 (Pl. LVI)—takes *Kacula* to be the name of the donor's husband. L. No. 854.] N

39. Jeṭhabhadrasa dānaṃ. BT (90)
"The gift of Jyeṣṭhabhadra." Tr

[C. p. 141; RI. 40 (Pl. LVI)—reads Jetabhara. H, No. 133 L. No. 855.] N

40. Aya-Jātasa peṭakino suci dānaṃ. BT (91)

"The rail-gift of the Noble Master Jāta, the Peṭakin, master in the Piṭaka." Tr

[C. p. 141; RI. 41 (Pl. LVI)—reads *jata sepeṭakino*. H. No. 134. L. No. 858. The epithet *Peṭakī* is derived from *Piṭaka* or *Peṭaka*, and means as Prof. Rhys Davids suggests, one who knows the *Piṭaka* by heart (Buddhist India, p. 167). *Piṭaka* or *Peṭaka* is a Buddhist technical expression signifying a definite literary redaction of Buddhist doctrine considered as closed, *i.e.*, the Buddhist Canon. The *Piṭaka* is, according to Prof. Rhys Davids the traditional statements of Buddhist doctrine as contained in the *Sutta-Piṭaka*. This is not necessarily so. Let us take, for instance, the expression *Peṭakôpadesa* used as the title of an exegetical treatise on the general teachings in the *Piṭaka* or *Piṭaka* literature. The Canonical passages and verses quoted therein can be mostly traced now in the books of *Sutta* and *Abhidhamma Piṭakas*. The Peṭakôpadesa expressly quotes passages from the *Ekuttaraka* (the *Ekuttara* or *Aṅguttara Āgama* or *Nikāya*) and the *Saṃyuttaka* (the *Saṃyutta Āgama* or *Nikāya*). The *Peṭaka* of the Peṭakôpadesa may either mean something of the *Peṭaka* or something relating to the *Piṭaka* in a collective sense. *Tepiṭaka* or *Tipiṭaka* or *Piṭakattaya* is the commonest expression in Buddhist literature. The Peṭakôpadesa, be it remembered, contains, like its companion-work, the Netti-Pakaraṇa, a treatment of the scientific method of exegetical exposition of Buddha's doctrine in its two-fold aspect—the textual and the doctrinal, the formal and the material. The term *Piṭaka* seems to have been derived from the common parlance in which it meant a basket for carrying earth (*mattikā-bhājana*), cf. *kuddālapiṭakaṃ*, spade and basket.[1] Its alternative form *Peṭaka* corresponds to *peṭaka*, *peṭikā* or Bengali *peḍā*, meaning some kind of a box or case (*mañjuṣā*). In the Buddhist technical sense, too, the term *Piṭaka* or *Peṭaka* is taken metaphorically to mean *pariyatti-bhājana* or *pariyatti-mañjusā*, with this difference however that here it stands for both the container and the contained.[2] The suggested metaphors are quite appropriate from the Buddhist theological point of view, according to which Buddhist doctrines or traditions as rehearsed, collected and fixed at the First Council, were transmitted (*ābhata*) or orally handed down (*mukhapāṭhavasena*), from teacher to teacher,[3] just in the same way that dug up earth is carried

[1] Atthasālinī, p. 20. Cf. *Kodāl-peurgā* or *peurgā-kodāl* of the Chittagong dialect.

[2] Atthasālinī, p. 20.

[3] Ibid, p. 32: *Kenâbhatan ti? Ācariya-paramparāya.*

in baskets from head to head till it is deposited and protected in the shape of a mound. It stands to reason to say that *Piṭaka* as a technical term is used exclusively by the Buddhists, but one must repudiate the suggestion that it was applied by them to denote only a part of their literature, namely, the Canonical. The Buddha himself as well as some of his immediate disciples are said to have used it with reference to the Vedic texts and traditions,[1] orally handed down in different schools, with the prevailing belief, 'so these were' 'so these were' (*anussavena itîha-itîha-paramparāya piṭaka-sampadāya*).[2]] N

41. Budharakhitasa rupakārakasa dānaṃ. BT (92)
"The gift of Buddharakṣita, the sculptor." Tr.

[C. p. 141; RI. 42 (Pl. LVI)—reads *Buddha*. H. No. 135. L. No. 857. *Budharakhita*, a householder donor in L. Nos. 487, 578, 636, 1106, 1169, 1241, 1271; a Buddhist monk in L. Nos. 126, 304, 488, 591, 638, 792, 1168, 1224, 1250, 1280. Rūpakāra literally means a figure-maker, figure-cutter or engraver. As Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar has shown, *rūpa* also may mean a token coin. If so, *rūpakāraka* may be taken also to mean a jeweller, whose business is to make ornaments and strike coins, *i.e.*, a jeweller and a minter. In L. No. 53 we have mention of *lohikakāraka* and in L. No. 54 we have *lohikakārika* in the sense of a smith or worker in metal.] N

42. Bhadata-Samikasa Therākūṭiyasa dānaṃ. BT (93)
"The gift of the Most Gentle Śamīka, of Sthavirakūṭa (or Sthavira-kuṭi)." Tr

[C. p. 141; RI. 43 (Pl. LVI)—reads *Mikasatha*. H. No. 136—equates *Samika* with *Syāmaka* and counts *Samika* and *Therākūṭa* as names of two donors. L. No. 858—*Therākūṭiya*—inhabitant of *Sthavirakūṭa*. Cf. *Samika*—a householder donor in L. Nos. 244, 280, 532, 995; a monk donor in L. No. 531.] N

[1], [2] Majjhima-Nikāya, II. Caṅki-Sutta: *mantapadaṃ*: "*Manta yeva mantapadaṃ vedoti attho*: *itîha-itîha-paramparāyāti evaṃ kira, evaṃkirâ'ti paramparabhāvena āgatanti. P itaka-sampadāyâti vacanasaṅkhātasampattiyā sāvitti-ādîhi chandabandhehi pavattabandhehi sampādetvā āgatanti* (Papañca-sūdanî, Siamese Ed.) In the Sandaka-Sutta (Majjhima, p. 520). Ānanda repudiates by these expressions the traditional method of a Vedic teacher (*anussavika*).

43. Sirisapada-Isirakhitāya dānaṃ. BT (94)
"The gift of Ṛṣirakṣitā from Śrīśapada." Tr

[C. p. 141; RI. 44 (Pl. LVI). H. No. 137—says that a village called *Śirīṣapadraka* is mentioned in two Gurjara inscriptions IA. Vol. XIII, pp. 82, 88. L. No. 859. For *Isirakhita* see L. No. 295. *Sirisa* may be equated with *Śrīśa*, cf. *Sirisavatthu* (*Śrīśavāstu*), a *Yakkhanagara* in Jātaka No. 186.] N

44. Moragirimā Ghāṭila-matu dānaṃ. BT
Moragirimhā Ghāṭila-mātu dānaṃ. CT (95)
"The gift of Ghaṭṭila's mother from Mayūragiri." Tr

[C. p. 141; RI. 45 (Pl. LVI)—reads °*mata*. H. No. 138—regards *Moragirimā* either as a clerical mistake for *Moragirimhā* or as an assimilated form *Moragirimma*, cf. *vañcitammi=vañcitasmi* (F. I. p. 428). L. No. 860.] N

45. Atanatasa Bhojakaṭakasa suci dānaṃ. BT
Aṃtānaṃtasa Bhojakaṭakasa sūci dānaṃ. CT (96)
"The rail-gift of Antânanta of Bhojakata." Tr

[C. p. 141; RI. 46 (Pl. LVI)—reads *Atankha*° L. No. 861—suggests *Atanta*°.] N

46. Samidatāya dānaṃ. BT (97)
"The gift of Śamīdattā." Tr

[C. p. 141; RI. 47 (Pl. LVI) H. No. 139. L. No. 862. *Samidata* or *Sāmidata*—a goldsmith in L. No. 986; a Buddhist monk in L. Nos. 298, 535. *Samidatā* also may be=*Svāmidattā*.] N

47. Culanasa dānaṃ. BT (98)
"The gift of Cullana (or Kullana)." Tr

[C. p. 141; RI. 48 (Pl. LVI. H. No. 140—*Culana* is derived from *culla*, Sk. *kṣudra*. L. No. 863.] N

48-49. Avisanasa dānaṃ. Avisanasa dānaṃ. BT (99)
"The gift of Aviṣaṇṇa." "The gift of Aviṣaṇṇa." Tr.

[C. p. 141 ; RI. 49-50 (Pl. LVI). H. Nos. 141-142 L. Nos. 464-465. Cf. *Avisana* can be regarded as a misreading of *Avisina*, it can be Sanskritised *Aviśīrṇa*. Cf. *Avisana* in L. Nos. 319 and 351.] N

50. Sa(ṃ)ghamitasa Bodhicakasa dānaṃ. BT (100)
"Gift of Sangha Mitra of Bodhi Cakra." C
"The gift of Bodhicakra by Saṅghamitra." H
"Gift of a wheel of enlightenment (bodhicaka by Saṃghamita (Saṃghamitra)." L
"The gift of Sanghamitra, the Bodhicaka—the bearer of Bodhicakra—the symbol of enlightenment." BS

[C. p. 141 ; RI. 51 (Pl. LVI)—says that there may have been a *Bodhi Cakra* as well as a *Dharma Cakra*. H. No. 143. L. No. 866. Judging by the general grammatical construction of the Votive Labels one cannot but take *Bodhicaka* as an epithet used in apposition with *Saṃghamita*. The precise significance of the epithet is not quite clear. It would have been interesting if it could be shown that *Bodhicaka*, as suggested by C, is used in contradistinction to *Dhamacaka*. In that case, one might conjecture that at the time of the construction of the Barhut railing, there were two distinct symbols in use among the Buddhists : one, namely, the *Bodhicakra*, characterising a tendency towards the ideal of Buddhahood, and the other, namely, the *Dharmacakra*, characterising the tendency towards the ideal of Discipleship. The rendering given by H and L is highly suggestive and can commend itself to our ready acceptance provided that it can be shown that the label is attached to an actual symbolical representation of *Bodhi* on the Barhut railing. It is not unlikely that Bodhicakra, like Ekacakra in the Pauranic list of places, is the name of a locality.] N

51. Budharakhitasa Pa[ṃ]ca-nekāyikasa dānaṃ. BT (101)
"The gift of Buddharakṣita the Pañcanaikāyika—who is versed in the Five Nikāyas." Tr

[C. p. 141 ; RI. 52 (Pl. LVI)—reads *Bodhirakhitasa*. H. No. 144 L. No. 867. *Budharakhita*—a *Sutaṃtika* (*Sautrāntika*) in the Sanchi

Buddhist Stūpa II. inscription L. No. 635. *Paṃcanekayika*—an epithet of the monk *Deragiri* in the Sanchi Stūpa I. Inscription L. No. 299. *Paṃcanekāyika* or *Pañcanaikāyika* is derived from *Pañcanikāya*, and means one who is conversant with, *i.e.*, knows by heart the Five Nikāyas (Buddhist India, p. 167). *Pañcanikāya* occurs in the Vinaya Cullavagga[1] as a collective designation for one of the two divisions of the Buddhist Canon therein recognised, the other division being represented by '*Ubhato-Vinaya*.' The Milinda quotes passages from the books of the *Sutta-Piṭaka* bearing such titles as *Dīgha-Nikāya*, *Majjhima-Nikāya*, *Saṃyutta-Nikāya*, and the rest. In Buddhaghoṣa's commentaries,[2] on the other hand, the expression signifies not only the five well-known collections of Buddha's discourses or dialogues enumerated as five classical divisions of the books of *Sutta-Piṭaka* but also a general fivefold division of the entire Buddhist Canon, the *Khuddaka-Nikāya* including, over and above the usual 12 or 15 Sutta books, all the books composing the *Vinaya* or the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka*. Curiously enough, except in the sense of a sect, school or denomination, the term *Nikāya* is not found in use among all the Buddhists. From this one may be naturally led to suppose that *Nikāya* in the sense of a Canonical division is a technical term exclusively used by a particular Buddhist sect or school, namely, the *Theravāda* or *Sthavira*. The expression found in the literature of other sects and schools corresponding to Pâli *Nikāya*, such as that in the Divyâvadāna—a *Sarvastivāda* work, is *Āgama*.[3] Even in the Pâli discourses ascribed to the Buddha himself, the expression *Āgama* is often met with, no doubt in the sense of a floating body of Buddhist literary traditions, either with their twofold division *Dharma* and *Vinaya*, or with their triple division *Sutta*, *Vinaya* and *Mātikā*.[4] Whatever the later Buddhist explanations of these expressions, they seem to have been manipulated with the express object of indicating a traditional character of the original body of Buddha's doctrine.[5] Thus one need not be surprised that in the Dīpavaṃsa account of the proceedings of the First Buddhist Council the *Dhammasaṅgaha* is otherwise called *Āgama-Piṭaka*. What is the special significance of *Nikāya* applied as a designation for a Canonical division ? Buddhaghoṣa says that *Nikāya* in its ordinary usage

[1] Cullavagga, Vinaya-Piṭaka, II, p. 287.

[2] Samanta-Pāsādikā, Ceylonese Ed., p. 8 ; Atthasālinī, pp. 17-18 : Sumaṅgala-Vilāsinī, Siamese Ed., I, pp. 20-23.

[3] Divyâvadāna at p. 33 recognises only four *Āgamas*, *viz. Dīrgha*, *Madhyama*, *Saṃyukta* and *Ekôttara*, Cf. Mahāvaṃsa expression *catunikāyika*.

[4] Cf. *Bahussutā*, *Āgatâgamā*, *Dhammadharā*, *Vinayadharā*, *Mātikādharā*.

[5] Sumaṅgala-Vilāsinī, II, Siamese Ed., pp. 216 f.

means *samūha* and *nivāsa*, and that in this respect there is no difference between its common and technical sense. For instance, the *Dīgha-Nikāya* means the group, aggregate, set or receptacle of the long discourses.[1] In the earlier Jaina and Buddhist usages, *Nikāya* appears to have been used as a biological expression, meaning a particular class, type or species of living beings, *cf. chajīva-nikāya*,[2] a technical term in use among the followers of Pārśvanātha, denoting six divisions of living beings, those possessed of one sense, those of two senses, and the rest. In the Ājīvika phraseology, the expression *cha-jīva-nikāya* was replaced by *chalábhijāti*[3] or *ṣaṭjīvavarṇā*[4] and in the Jaina phraseology by *cha-lesiyā*, meaning the living beings of six mental types. In Buddha's discourses[5] and in Pāṇini's Sūtras,[6] the term *Nikāya* has a similar biological significance. According to Buddha, a *jāti* or *nikāya* denotes a self-contained class of beings, two *jātis* being mutually exclusive (*aññamaññāhi jātiyo*).[7] One must understand that when *Nikāya* came to be applied by the Buddhists to their Canonical books and divisions, they intended to signify that Buddha's doctrine was no longer in a fluid condition, but assumed definite shape and character, each division of it having an independent position of its own in the whole body of literature.] N

52. Isirakhitasa suci dānaṃ. BT (102)
"The rail-gift of Ṛṣirakṣita." Tr

[* da°(BT). C. p. 142 ; RI. 53 (Pl. LVI). H. No. 145. L. No. 868.] N

53. Dhanabhūtisa rājano putasa kumārasa Vādhapālasa [dānaṃ]. BT
Dhanabhūtino rājāno putasa kumārasa Vādhapālasa dānaṃ. CT (103)

[1] Atthasālinī, p. 25 : "*Dīghappamāṇānaṃ suttānaṃ samūhato nivāsato ca, samūha-nivāsā hi nikāyo ti vuccati.*"

[2] Āyāraṃga-Sutta, P. T. S. II. 15, 16.

[3] Dīgha-Nikāya, I. p. 53 ; Aṅguttara, III. pp. 383-384 ; Sumaṅgala-Vilāsinī, I. p. 162.

[4] Mahābhārata XII. 279. 32.

[5] Saṃyutta III. 152 : "*Nâhaṃ bhikkhave aññaṃ ekanikāyam pi samanupassāmi evaṃ cittaṃ yatha yidaṃ tiracchānagatā pāṇā.*

[6] Kāśika on Pāṇini III. 3, Atthasālinī, p. 25, Paramatthajotikā, I, p. 12.

[7] Sutta-Nipāta, V. 601. Cf. Aśokan use of *nikāya*.

"The gift of Prince 'Vādhapāla' (Vṛddhapāla), the son of King Dhanabhūti." Tr

[C. p. 142; RI. 54 (Pl. LVI). L. No. 869. The reading of the label is based upon C. H and L are inclined to equate *Vādhapāla* with *Vyādhapāla*. As for *vādha=vṛddha*, cf. *vādharāja* in Hāthigumphā inscription L. No. 134] N

54. Phagudevāye bhichuniye dānaṃ. BT
Phagudevāya bhichuniyā dānaṃ. CT (104)
"The gift of the nun Phalgudevī." Tr

[C. p. 142; RI. 55 (Pl. LVI). H. No. 146. L. No. 870.] N

55. Koḍāya Yakhiyā dānaṃ BT (105)
"The gift of Yakṣī from Kuṇḍa" (?) Tr

[C. p. 142; RI. 56 (Pl. LVI). H. No. 147. L. No. *Koḍā=Kroḍā* (HL).] N

56. Ghosāye dānaṃ. BT
Ghosāya dānaṃ. CT (106)
"The gift of Ghoṣā." Tr

[C. p. 142; RI. 57 (Pl. LVI). H. No. 872. L. No. 148.] N

57. Yamitasa sa..... BT
Yamitasa suci dānaṃ. CT (107)
Yamīdasa suci dānaṃ. CT (107)
"The rail-gift of Yamila." Tr
"The rail-gift of Yamendra." Tr.

[C. p. 142; RI. 58 (Pl. LVI)—reads *Yamidasa*. L. No. 873.] N

58. Seriyāputasa Bharanidevasa dānaṃ. BT (108)
"The gift of Bharaṇideva, from Śrīputra." Tr

[* Bhāra °(BT) C. p. 142; RI. 59 (Pl. LVI)—reads *Bharini*. H. No. 149—reads *Seriya*, I. No. 874. *Seriyāputa* may be taken here also to denote a place, cf. *Pāṭaliputta, Kesaputta, Satiyaputa, Keralaputa*.] N

59. Mitadevāye dānaṃ. BT
Mitadevāya dānaṃ. CT (109)
"The gift of Mitradevi." Tr

[C. p. 142; RI. 60 (Pl. LVI)—reads *devaya*. H. No. 150 L. No. 875.] N

60. Paḍelakasa Pusakasa suci dānaṃ. BT (110)
"The rail-gift of Puṣyaka, the Paḍelaka, the man of Pāṇḍya." (?) Tr

[C. p. 142; RI. 61 (Pl. LVI). L. No. 876.] N

61. Asitamasāya Valamitasa dānaṃ. BT (111)
"The gift of Valamitra from Asitamasā." Tr

[C. p. 142; RI. 62 (Pl. LVI)—says that *Asitamasā* may be a place on the bank of the *Tamasā* or Tons river, within two miles of Barhut; or taking *Asita* as a proper name of the town might be construed as *Asita-masa*. L. No. 877.] N

62. [Pa]rakaṭikaya Sirimaya danaṃ. BT
Parakaṭikāya Sirimāya dānaṃ. CT (112)
"The gift of Śrīmā from Parakata." (?) Tr

[C. p. 142; RI. 63 (Pl. LVI). L. No. 878.] N

63. Vijitakasa suci dānaṃ. BT (113)
"The rail-gift of Vijita." Tr

[C. p. 142; RI. 64 (Pl. LVI). L. No. 878.] N

64. .....sa dānaṃ. BT (114)
"The gift of [a donor whose name is effaced.]" Tr

[C. p. 142; RI. 65 (Pl. LVI). L. No. 880.] N

65. .....kasa raño bhayaye Nāgarakhitāye dānaṃ. BT
[Dhanabhū]tisa raño bhāriyāya Nāgarakhitāya dānaṃ (?) CT (115)
"The gift of Nāgarakṣitā, the wife of King Dhanabhūti." (?) Tr

[C. Pl. LVI. 67. H. read *tisa* IA. XXI, p. 225. L. No. 882.] N

66. Bo[dhigu]tasa dānaṃ. BT (116)
"The gift of Bodhigupta." Tr

[H. No. 74. Rail 8 (Pl. XXXVIII. 3). L. No. 883.] N

67. .....Himavate i..... BT (117)

[H. No. 75. Rail 12 (Pl. XXIV. 3). L. No. 884. It is doubtful whether this inscription is a Votive or a Jātaka label.] N

4. Votive Labels on Copings [uṣṇīṣas] No. I and VIII.

1. Aya-Nāgadevasa dānaṃ. BT (118)
"The gift of the Noble Master Nāgadeva." Tr

[C. p. 151; CI. 1 (Pl. LIII). H. No. 2. L. No. 690.] N

2. Karahakaṭa-nigamasa dānaṃ. BT (119)
"The gift of the town of Karahakata." Tr

[C. p. 131; CI. 16 (Pl. LIII. 16). H. No. 16. L. No. 705. This is the second Votive label to be found engraved on a coping-stone (Coping VIII) of the existing Barhut railing. It lends itself to a two-fold interpretation according as the word *nigama* is taken either in the sense of a town or in that of a trader. Taking it in the former sense, the label must be construed as implying that the gift referred to was made jointly by the citizens of *Karahakata*, *nigama* standing for *naigama*. Taking it in the latter sense, the label must be construed to mean that the gift was that of an individual donor who was a trader in the town of *Karahakata*, *nigama* standing for the Pâli *negama* or the Sk. *naigama*. The controversy does not end here. One has got to decide whether the copings surmounting the entire railing were the gift of an individual trader donor or that of the whole population of *Karahakata*, identified by Hultzsch with modern *Karhād* in the *Sattārā* district.[1] It appears that the copings were superadded to the railing woven of pillars and rail-bars and intersected by the gateways; the symmetry of their joinings and carvings goes to indicate that these were designed by the single artist. The tradition of symmetry thus associated with the copings with their costly ornamental designs of continuous scroll-work and bas-reliefs might be carried to a further point, if it could be established that as these were the designs of one artist, so these were the gift of one donor. But in view of other weighty considerations, stated below, this must be tabooed as a mere intelligent suggestion. From the occurrence of such expressions in some of the Votive labels as *thabho dānaṃ* (gift of a pillar) and *sucidānaṃ* (gift of a rail-bar), it follows that almost every pillar or every individual rail-bar was the gift of an individual donor. Even there are indications to prove that almost every Jātaka-scene or group of Jātaka-scenes was sculptured on the strength of an individual donation. If so, it would seem improbable that the whole series of copings with all their ornamental paraphernalia was the gift of a single donor, however rich he might be. If the label were meant to record the gift of an individual donor, it would have, as in other cases, recorded the personal name of the donor along with his professional designation. This being not the case, one must be inclined to conclude that the label was really meant to perpetuate the memory of the whole body of citizens.] N

[1] The expression Karahākaḍaka, a resident of Karahākaḍa, occurs in Kudā inscription No. 18 (Lüders No. 1055); Karahākaṭa or Karahākaḍa is probably identical with Karahāṭaka in a Rāshṭrakuṭa inscription of Śaka 675 (I. A. XI, p. 110).

1. Vedisa Vāsiṭhiya Velimi BT
Vedisā Vāsiṭhiyā Velimi[ta-bhāriyāya dānaṃ.] FT (120)
"The gift of Vāsiṣṭhī, the wife of Veṇimitra, from Vidiśā." Tr

[C. p. 143; FI. 1 (Pl. LVI). L. No. 885—prefers to read *Velimitāya*, of Vellimitrā. It is quite possible that there was some additional word like *thabho* or *suci* before or after *dānaṃ*, *cf.* PI. 1.] N

2. Aya-Naṃda BT
Aya-Naṃda[sa dānaṃ] (?) FT (121)
"The gift of the Noble Master Nanda." Tr

[C. p. 143; FI. 2 (Pl. LVI). L. No. 886. There may as well have been a feminine form *Aya-Naṃdāya*, of Āryā-Nandā.] N

3. Avāsikā BT
Āvāsikā[ya bhikhuniyā dānaṃ] (?) FT (122)
"The gift of a nun of the local monastic abode" (?) Tr

[C. p. 143; FI. 4 (Pl. LVI). L. No. 887. Avāsika is the name of a donor in L. No. 619. The expression *āvāsika-bhikkhu* means a resident monk, one staying at his own monastery (Childers, *sub voce* Āvāsika). If the first rendering of *āvāsika* be accepted, the label may be cited to prove that the female donor was a Buddhist nun of the local monastery.] N

4. Mahada(?) BT
Mahād[evasa dānaṃ] (?) FT (123)
"The gift of Mahādeva" (?) Tr

[C. p. 143; FI. 5 (Pl. LVI)—reads *Mahada*. L. 888. One cannot be sure whether this inscription is a Votive or a Jātaka label.] N

5. Cadā BT
Ca[ṃ]dā[ya dānaṃ.] FT (124)
"The gift of Candrā" (?) Tr

[C. p. 143; FI. 6 (Pl. LVI). L. No. 889.] N

6. Satika BT
Saṃtika[sa dānaṃ] (?) FT (125)
"The gift of Śāntika" (?) Tr

[C. p. 143; FI. 7 (Pl. LVI). L. No. 890.] N

7. ..... ra(?)katayāyā... BT
[Kara]hakaṭikāya[dānaṃ] (?) FT (126)
"The gift of a female denor from Karahakata" (?) Tr

[C. p. 143; FI. 8 (PI. LVI). L. 891.] N

8. ... ? tu rajana adhirajaka.? yata ? BT (127)
No sense can be made out. Perhaps the label records a gift made by or work done under the auspices of a sovereign ruler.

[C. p. 143; FI. 9 (Pl. LVI)—reads *rajine*. L. No. 892.] N

9. ... tarasa... BT
...tarasa[dānaṃ] (?) FT (128)
"The gift of [a donor whose name is missing except last two syllables] *tara*." Tr

[C. p. 143; FI. 10 (Pl. LVI). L. No. 893.] N

10. ... yasini sayāni... BT

... yasinisa yāni[kasa dānaṃ] (?) FT (129)

"The gift of Yānika [the inhabitant of a place, the name of which is missing except the last three syllables] *yasini*." (?) Tr

[C. p. 143; Fl. 11 (Pl. LVI). L. No. 894.] N

11. [Saṃ]ghami[tasa dāñaṃ] (?) BT (130)

"The gift of Saṅghamitra." Tr

[C. p. 143; Fl. 12 (Pl. LVI). L. No. 895.] N

12. ..... sākusu..... BT (131)

No sense can be made out.

[C. p. 143; Fl. 13 (Pl. LVI)—reads *sakusu*. L. No. 196.] N

13. Naṃdagirino dā[naṃ]. BT (132)

"The gift of Nandagiri." Tr

[C. p. 143; Fl. 14 (Pl. LVI). L. No. 898. Cf. Naṃdigiri in L. No. 872.] N

14. ... yāya dānaṃ. BT (133)

"The gift of some female donor." Tr

[C. p. 143; Fl. 16 (Pl. LVI)—reads *yāyā*. L. No. 800. The fragment might also be connected with Fl. 1 completing it thus:

Vedisā Vāsiṭhiyā Velimi[ta-bhāri]yāya dānaṃ.] N

15.	Koladalākiyeyo dana.	BT
	Koladalākiyāya dānaṃ.	CT (134)
	"The gift of Koladalākhya (?)	Tr

[C's eye-copy, Pl. LVI. Frag. 20. One may be tempted to equate *Koladalāki* with *Kuladārikā*.] N

SECTION II

JĀTAKA-LABELS

Relating to Bas-reliefs illustrating episodes of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas in inculcation of the Mahápadāna Doctrine of Buddhótpāda-Dharmatā.

A. Attached to Bas-reliefs illustrating the episodes of seven Buddhas—Vipaścit to Gautama.

1. Bhagavato Vipasino Bodhi. BT
Bhagavato Vipasino Bodhi [Pāṭali]. FT (135)

Cf. Vipassī bhagavā Pāṭaliyā mūle abhisambuddho [Mahāpadāna-Suttanta, Dīgha II].

Vipassissa bhagavato Pāṭali-rukkho Bodhi [Jātaka-Nidāna-Kathā, F. Vol. I, p. 41].

Vipaśyino bhagavata.....[Divyâvadāna, p. 333].

Vipaśyine.....buddhāya [Mahāvastu I, p. 2].

"[Pāṭali, Trumpet-Flower or *Bignonia Suaveolens*—] the Bodhi-tree of the Divine Master Vipaścit." Tr

{C. pp. 113, 137; PI. 68 (Pls. XXX. 1, LIV. 68). H. No. 81. L. No. 779.}

2. [Bhagavato Sikhino Bodhi].[1] BT
Bhagavato Sikhino Bodhi Puṃḍarīko.[2] FT (136)
"[Puṇḍarīka, White-Mango or *Magnifera Indica*—] the Bodhi-tree of the Divine Master Śikhī." Tr

Cf. Sikhī bhagavā Puṇḍarīkassa mūle abhisambuddho [Dīgha II].

Sikhissa bhagavato Puṇḍarīka-rukkho Bodhi [F. Vol. 1. p. 41].

Śikhino [3] bhagavato...[Divyâvadāna, p. 333].

[1] Supplied by us.

[2] The Barhut spelling would be *Puḍariko*.

[3] The name of *Śikhī* is not to be found in the list of the last Buddhas—*Vipaśyi* to *Śākyamuni Gautama* at p. 295 in the Mahāvastu.

3. Bhagavato Vesabhuno Bodhi Sālo. BT (137)

Cf. Vessabhū bhagavā Sālassa mūle abhisambuddho [Dīgha II].
Vessabhussa bhagavato Sāla-rukkho Bodhi [F. Vol. I, p. 42].
Viśvabhuvaḥ bhagavato...[Divyâvadāna, p. 333].
Bhagavato Viśvabhuvaḥ.....[1]

"[Śāla or *Shorea Robusta*—] the Bodhi-tree of the Divine Master Viśvabhṛt." Tr

{C. pp. 113, 132; Pl. 3 (Pls. XXIX. 2; LIV. 3.) H. No. 24. L. No. 714.}

4. Bhagavato Kakusadhasa Bodhi. BT
Bhagavato Kakusaṃdhasa Bodhi [Siriso]. FT (138)

Cf. Kakusandho bhagavā Sirīsassa mūle abhisambuddho [Dīgha II].
Kakusandhassa bhagavato mahā-Sirīsa-rukkho Bodhi [F. Vol. I, p. 41].
Krakucchandasya bhagavato.....[Divyâvadāna, p. 333].
Bhagavato Krakucchandasya.....[Mahāvaśtu I, p. 318].
Krakutsaṃdāya.. buddhāya.....[Ibid, I, p. 2].

"[Śirīṣa or *Acacia*—] the Bodhi-tree of the Divine Master Kakutsandha." Tr

{C. pp. 114, 137; Pl. 72 (Pls. XXIX. 3, LIV. 72). H. No. 84. L. No. 783.}

5. Bhagavato Konāgamenasa Bodhi. BT
Bhagavato Konāgamanasa Bodhi [Uḍuṃbaro] FT (139)

Cf. Koṇâgamanasa bhagavā Udumbarassa mūle abhisambuddho [Dīgha II].
Koṇâgamanassa bhagavato Udumbara-rukkho Bodhi [F. Vol. I, p. 43].
Kanakamuneḥ bhagavato.....[Divyâvadāna, p. 333].

[1] Supplied in the manner of the Mahāvastu.

Bhagavato Kanakamunisya.....[Mahāvastu I, p. 318].
Konākamuni [Mahāvastu II, p. 266].
Budhasa Konākamanasa [Aśoka's Niglīva Pillar Edict].

"[Udumbara or *Ficus Glomerata*—] the Bodhi-tree of the Divine Master Koṇâgamana." Tr

{C. pp. 132, 114; PI. 11 (Pls. XXIX. 4, LII. 11)—reads *Konigamenasa*. H. No. 30, L. No. 722. *Konāgamenasa* appears to have a case of short prakrit e for Sk. *a* (H).}

6. Bhagavato Kasapasa Bodhi. BT
Bhagavato Kāsapasa Bodhi [Nigodho]. FT (140)

Cf. Kassapo bhagavā Nigrodhassa mūle abhisambuddho [Dīgha II, p. 4].
Kassapassa bhagavato Nigrodha-rukkho Bodhi [F. Vol. I, p. 43].
Kāśyapasya bhagavato.....[Divyâvadāna, p. 333].
Bhagavato Kāśyapasya...[Mahāvastu I, p. 318].

"[Nyagrodha, the Banian or *Ficus Indica*—] the Bodhi-tree of the Divine Master Kāśyapa." Tr

{C. pp. 135. 114; PI. 49 (Pls. XXX. 1, LIV. 49)—also reads *Kāsa.*° H. No. 64. L. No. 760.}

7. Bhagavato Sākamunino Bodho. BT
Bhagavato Sākamunino Bodhi [Asatho].[1] FT (141)

Cf. Gotamo bhagavā Assatthassa mūle abhisambuddho [Dīgha II, p. 4].
Gotamassa bhagavato Assattha-rukkho Bodhi [F. Vol. I, pp. 15-16].

Śākyamuneḥ bhagavato.....[2]
Buddhasya Śākyamunino bhagavato...[Mahāvastu I, p. 48].
Budhe Sakyamuni...[Aśoka's Lumbinī Pillar Edict].

"[Aśvattha, the Peepul or *Ficus Religiosa*—] the Bodhi-tree of the Divine Master Śākyamuni."

[1] Supplied in the manner of the Nidāna-kathā.
[2] Cf. *Maṅgalasya.....buddhasya Nāga-vṛkṣo abhūṣi Bodhi* (Mahāvastu I, p. 248).
[1] Supplied in the manner of the Divyâvadāna.

{C, pp. 134, 114; PI. 28 (Pls. XXX. 3, LIV. 28)—also reads *saka*.° Ho. No. 11 H. No. 46, L. No. 739. *Bodho* is a mere synonym for *Bodhi* (Ho).}

[The origin of the word *bhaga* can be traced to an Indo-European root like *phagus*, meaning '*to eat*.' '*to enjoy*.' The words *bhāgya*, *bhaga*, *bhāgī*, *bhaginī*, *bhoga*, *bhuñja*, *bhoja*, *bhakṣa*, *bhakṣya* and *bhakti* may, so far as this fundamental meaning is concerned, be taken as coming from the same root, their underlying idea being one of enjoyment and apportionment.[1] The Indo-Aryan *Bhaga* with its European counterparts *Begu* and the like is found to be the name of an old Aryan god, representing, no doubt, a distinct aspect of Godhead, *i.e.*, primarily God as the giver of food or things of enjoyment, and secondarily God as the ordainer and distributor of possession and prosperity. Thus one need not be surprised that in the Ṛg-Vedic *Śraddhā*-hymn,[2] *Bhaga* has been represented as the embodiment of possession and prosperity. For the primitive man, no less than for the primitive in the man of to-day, food in the sense of satisfaction of the two cardinal appetites of animal life may be held to constitute the possession and prosperity. The possessor of this twofold satisfaction and the means thereof is in theory the *bhagavān* or *bhāgyavān*. The primitive idea of possession and prosperity has undergone modification by way of both elimination and supplementation—by emphasizing the finer and relegating the grosser elements to the background. But however sublimated the idea of *bhaga* or *bhāgya* may have been, the idea of possession and prosperity is always there. We come across the word *bhagavān* in the

[1] The Mahāniddesa (pp. 142-143) and the Paramatthajotikā (I, pp. 107-109) contain the following dissertation on the word *bhagavā*. "The epithet *bhagavā* or *bhagavān* was bestowed on the Buddha neither by his parents nor by his other relations. It was acquired by him on his attainment of omniscience. *Bhagavā—bhagayutta*, one endowed with *bhaga*, which in its generally accepted sense means the sixfold supreme possession of *issariya*, *dhamma*, *yasa*, *sirī*, *kāma*, and *payatana*. *Issariya* comprehends the idea of such qualities as *aṇimā*, and the rest. *Dhamma* means transcendental virtues. *Yasa* implies a pure fame of universal recognition. *Sirī* connotes an all-round accomplishment. *Kāma* signifies all objects of desire or all desired objects. *Payatana* means the supreme effort to gain sovereignty over all. *Bhagavā—bhajī* or *bhattavā*, one who has a recourse to, *i.e.*, has the experience of, all things. *Bhagavā—bhāgī*, participator of all acquisitions. *Bhagavā—vibhattavā*, one who explains things by proper apportionment or method of analytical distinction. *Bhagavā—bhaggakārī*, the breaker or destroyer of all evils. *Bhagavā—garu*, the master who is superior to all. *Bhagavā—bhāgyavā*, the fortunate or blessed one *Bhagavā—bhavantaga*, one who has gone beyond individual existence. *Bhagavā—subhāvitatta*, who has fully developed himself."

[2] Ṛg-Veda X, 151: Śraddhāṃ Bhagasya mūrdhvani vacasā vedayāmasi.

Indo-Aryan literature at a time when man became fully conscious of his dignity as man and of his potentiality to the extent of attaining Godhood and Divinity. The term became quite familiar by the time of the Buddha when the idea of material possession and prosperity began to be supplanted by that of ethical, intellectual and spiritual attainments. The Sk. *bhāgya* and *bhagna* are both in Pâli *bhagga*, allowing the Buddhists a room for displaying their ethical bias and interpreting *bhagavā* or *bhagavān* as meaning one who has broken the bonds of passion, hatred and delusion. The sense in which the word *bhagavān* is used in the labels shows again the predominance of the tangible manifestations of human greatness and goodness; that is to say, the meaning is quite consonant with the growing *Bhagavatism* of the day which invaded even the Buddhist system. Hörnle has very rightly suggested that the word *bodhi* referring apparently, in a physical sense, to the *Bodhi* or *Bo Tree* is inseparably associated with the idea of *bodha* or enlightenment. According to the definition suggested in the Mahâpadāna-Suttanta, a *Bo Tree* is one at the foot of or under which (*yassa mūle, yassa rukkhassa heṭṭhā*) a *Buddha* or more accurately, a *Bodhisattva* becomes truly awakened or enlightened. "Trees there are many others. Of these, only those trees, at the foot of which the Buddhas penetrate *bodhi* in the sense of a knowledge of the Four Truths constituting the way, are called *Bodhi* or *Bo Tree*."[1] *Saṃbodhi* of Aśoka's Rock Edict (No. 8), like *bodhi* of Barhut labels, seems to imply a twofold meaning, with this difference, however, that in the former the physical meaning is over-shadowed by the spiritual, and what is more, the *Bo Tree* as denoted by *bodhi* of the Barhut labels stands as a symbol for the entire life and career of a Buddha.

The names of the last six or seven Buddhas which are found recorded in their genitive forms on the Barhut railing suggest a problem of some importance. The names of the six Buddhas and the supposed missing name of *Sikhi* are all phonetically akin to those in Pâli: *Vipasi* = *Vipassī*: *Sikhi* = *Sikhī*; *Vesabhu* = *Vessabhū*; *Kakusadha* = *Kakusandha*; *Konāgamena* = *Koṇāgamana*; *Koṇāgamana* = *Konākamana* (Aśoka's Niglīva Pillar Edict); *Kāsapa* = *Kassapa*; *Sākamuni* = *Sakyamuni*. These names are Sanskritised almost alike in the Divyâvadāna, the Lalita-Vistara and the Mahāvastu: *Vipaśyī*; *Śikhī*; *Viśvabhū*: *Krakucchanda* (*Krakutsanda*, an alternative form in the Mahāvastu); *Kanakamuni*; *Kāśyapa*; *Śākyamuni* (*Sakyamuni* in Aśoka's Lumbinī Pillar Edict, *Sākyamuni* or *Sakyamuni* in Pâli). Curiously enough, the genitive case-endings of the Barhut names seem to have

[1] Sumaṅgala-Vilāsinī, Siamese Ed., II, p. 13.

followed, upon the whole, a tradition other than Pâli: *Vipasino* = Pâli *Vipassissa*, Divyā, *Vipaśyino*; [*Sikhino* = Pâli *Sikhissa*, Divyâ, *Śikhino*]; *Vesabhuno* = Pâli *Vessabhussa*, Divyā and Mahāv. *Viśvabhuvaḥ*; *Konāgamenasa* = Pâli *Koṇâgamanassa*, Divyâ, *Kanakamuneḥ*, Mahāv. *Kanakamunino*; *Sākamunino*—Lalita-Vi. and Mahāv. *Śākyamunino*.

The Pâli books preserve *ex-hypothesi* the tradition of the *Sthaviras*; the Divyâvadāna and the Lalita-Vistara, that of the *Sarvâstivādins*; the Mahāvastu, that of the *Mahāsaṅghikas*. The comparative study of Buddhas' names and their genitive forms enables one to think that the dialect or dialects in which the original Buddhist traditions were handed down bore phonetically a close resemblance to Pâli, and that the discrepancies arose and became more and more detectable from the time when the different Buddhist sects and schools tried in different parts of India to write in Sanskrit. The diversity of case-endings, *e.g.*, in the case of Vipassī, seems to have arisen from the fact that the Buddhists forgot it was derived from the Sanskrit Vipaścit, and was at the same time reluctant to equate it with Vidassī. A similar argument would lead one to hit upon Viśvabhṛt or Vaiśyabhū as the Sanskrit form behind Vessabhū. The designation *Sākamuni* seems to have been manipulated at a somewhat late stage of Buddhism, though it came into use, as evidenced by Aśokan inscriptions, as early as the 3rd century B. C. It would seem unfortunate that the epithet *muni*, which in its generally accepted sense was sought to be got rid of by the Buddha for its mystical associations,[1] came to be connected with his name. Mere quietude for its own sake was never the ideal of the Buddha. *Munihood* or quietude as an attribute of Buddahood was intended to represent only an ecstatic mood whereby the Buddha could remain untouched and unperturbed, unshaken and unsubdued, even in the midst of horrific terrors. This aspect of Buddhahood came to be much emphasized with the growing ascetic tendencies of a certain section of the Buddhist order.] N

B. Attached to Basreliefs illustrating episodes of the *Avidūre*-Section of Gautama's life.

1. (*a*) Purathima [di]sa Sudhāvāsā de[va]t[ā]. BT
Purathima-disaṃ sudhāvāsā devatā. CT (142)

Cf. Purimaṃ disaṃ, Pubbena [Dīgha III, p. 180]; Pūrveṇa [Divyâvadāna, p. 22].
Puratthimāya disāya [Dīgha II, pp. 207, 220].
Puratthimasmiṃ disābhāge [Aṭānāṭiya-Sutta].

[1] See the Ṛ-Vedic Keśi-Sūkta

Purastime diśobhāge [Mahāvastu III, p. 306].
Pūrvasyām diśi [Lalita-Vistara, pp. 59, 266].
Pūrvasmiṃ diśobhāge [Lalita-Vistara, p. 388].
Suddhâvāsā devā (devatā) [Digha II, p. 50].
Suddhâvāsakāyikā devā (devaputtā) [Dīgha II, p. 253].
Śuddhâvāsā devā, Śuddhâvāsakāyikā devā [Mahāvastu III, p. 323].
Śuddhâvāsakāyikā devaputrāḥ [Mahāvastu I, p. 45, Lalita-Vistara, pp. 3, foll].

"On the eastern side—the Pure-Abode (Rūpa-brahma) deities." Tr

{C. p. 134; Pl. 29 (Pls. XIV. Outer Face, LIV. 29)—reads *Sudha Vasa Deva*. Ho. No. 12—reads *devā*, H. No. 47, L. No. 740}.

(*b*) [Pachimaṃ disaṃ.....][1] BT (143)
"On the western side....." Tr

(*c*) Utaraṃ disa [tini] savata-nisisāni. BT (144)

Cf. Uttaraṃ disaṃ, uttarena [Dīgha III, pp. 180, 202]; Uttarena [Divyâvadāna, p. 22]; Uttaraṃ diśaṃ [Lalita-Vistara, p. 147].
Uttarāya disāya [Dīgha II, pp. 227, 220].
Uttarasmiṃ diśobhāge [Mahāvastu III, p. 309].
Uttaresmiṃ diśobhāge [Lalita-Vistara, p. 391].
Uttarasyām diśi [Lalita-Vistara, p. 59].

"On the northern side—three classes of all-pervading (Rūpa-brahmas)." Tr.

{C. p. 134. Pl. 30 (Pls. XIV. Outer Face, LIV. 30)—overlooks °*ni*. Ho. No. 12—reads *savatani sisā(ni)* = Pâli *saṃvaṭṭāni sīsāni*, Sk. *saṃvartāni śīrṣāni*, heads turned towards each other. H. No. 48—reads *savatani sisā(ni)* = covered heads, *savata=saṃvṛta*. L. No. 741—follows H.}

(*d*) Dakhinaṃ disa cha Kāmāvacara-sahasāni. BT (145)

Cf. Dakkhiṇaṃ disaṃ, Dakkhiṇena [Dīgha III, pp. 180, 235].
Dakṣiṇena [Divyâvadāna, p. 22].

[1] Supplied by us.

Dakkhiṇāya disāya [Dīgha II, pp. 207, 220].
Dakkhiṇasmiṃ disābhāge [Āṭānāṭiya-Sutta].
Dakksiṇasmiṃ diśobhāge [Mahāvastu III, p. 307].
Daksiṇasyām diśi [Lalita-Vistara, pp. 59, 266].
Daksiṇesmiṃ diśobhāge [Lalita-Vistara, p. 389].
Cha Kāmâvacara-devā [F. Vol. V, p. 424].
Kāmâvacarā devā [Mahāvastu I, p. 209].
Kāmâvacaraḥ devāḥ, Kāmâvacaraḥ deva-(sahasrāṇi).
[Mahāvastu I, pp. 259, 209; II, 2; Lalita-Vistara, p. 33].
[Pūrvasyāṃ diśi] ṣaṭ Kāmâvacara-devāḥ sthita abhūvan [Lalita-Vistara, p. 362].

"On the southern side—six thousand Kāmâvacaras of the six Heavens of Lust." Tr

{C. p. 134; Pl. 31 (Pls. XIV—outer face, LIV. 31)—reads *chaki mavam ca rasahasam.* Ho. No. 13—reads *Kāmāvacarasa*; *hasāni*; *hasāni*=*hāsyāni,* amusements. H. No. 49 and L. No. 742—*cha Kāmāvacara-sahasāni*=six thousand Kāmāvacaras}.

"These four labels refer to the scene of the deities or angels, both of the Kāmâvacara and the Rūpâvacara Devalokas, entreating with folded hands the Bodhisattva, then a god of the Tuṣita heaven, to come down on the earth to be born as man—some standing to the east, some to the west, some to the north and some to the south of the Bodhisattva, who gave his consent after his observaions of place, time and the rest." E

[The expression *puratthima-disaṃ* or *purastima-dišaṃ* seems to be quite peculiar to Buddhist literature. The Sanskrit *purastāt* with which *purathima* has some affinity, is evidently an adverbial expression, with the Ablative case-ending used in a Locative sense, it being a synonym for *prācyāṃ diśi*, '*in the eastern quarter.*' As the parallel expressions from the Sanskrit Buddhist works go to indicate, the word *purastima,* met with in the Mahāvastu (I, p. 40), came to be replaced by *pūrvasyām* when the Buddhist literary dialects were sufficiently Sanskritised. The Buddhists usually enumerate the four cardinal points in the order of East, South, West and North.[1] The Barhut labels show a departure from this traditional mode in that they intend to place the north after the east and before the south. Portion of the existing bas-relief, which now survives, does not bear traces of any letters of an inscription pointing to the west, though

[1] E. g.—*Pūrva-dakṣiṇa-paścimôttarābhyo digbhyo bahūni devaṣatahasrāṇi sannipatitānyabhuvan,* Lalita-Vistara, p. 52.

it goes without saying that a fourth inscription having reference to the west and the deities of eight intermediate *Rūpabrahmalokas* is a desideratum, for the three labels, pointing to the east, the north and the south, do not exhaust the list of the deities who are ordinarily known to have inhabited six *Kāmāvacara devalokas* and sixteen *Rūpabrahmalokas* extending up to the *Akaṇiṣṭha* heaven.[1] The five highest *Rūpabrahma* heavens, *Aviha*, *Atappa*, *Sudassa*, *Sudassī*, *Akaṇiṭṭha*, are called *Suddhāvāsa*, the Pure Abodes (Childers, *Sub-voce* Sattaloka). The third label seems to refer to the *Brahmakāyika* deities, *i.e.*, the dwellers of the three lowest *Rūpabrahmalokas*, the *Brahmapārisajjas*, *the Brahmapurohitas*, and the *Mahābrahmas*. In certain passages of the Lalita-Vistara, the deities are divided into four classes instead of into five, to wit, *Śuddhāvāsa*, *Ābhāsvara*, *Brahmakāyika* and *Śuklapākṣika*. The fourth label mentions six thousand gods or angels inhabiting the six *Kāmāvacara* heavens—the *Cātummahārājika* (*Cāturmahārājika*), the *Tāvatiṃsa* (*Trayatriṃśa*), the *Yāma*, the *Tusita* (*Tuṣita*), the *Nimmāṇarati* (*Nirmāṇarati*), and the *Paranimmitavasavattī* (*Paranirmitavaśavartī*). *Savatanisisa* may be equated with Sk. *Sarvatraniśrita* or *sarvātmaniśrita*, meaning those who have a recourse, an access or a connexion everywhere, in all places, *i.e.*, in all concrete existents or individualities. In the Buddhist mythology, a *Brahmahāyika* god like *Sanatkumāra* is said to make his appearance before the gods of the six *Kāmāvacara* heavens, assuming a universal form, a form which all the *Kāmaloka* gods regard as their own self (*sabbadevā tassa attabhāvaṃ mamāyanti tādisaṃ yeva*).[2] According to the Janavasabha and Mahāgovinda Suttas of the Dīgha-Nikāya, no seat was required to be allotted for *Sanatkumāra* in the assembly of the *Kāmāvacara* gods in the *Sudharmā*-hall, it being his custom to honour a particular god by sitting on his lap, while all the gods sit cross-legged anxiously expecting his presence.] N

2(*a*). Sāḍika-saṃmadaṃ turaṃ devānaṃ. BT (146)

Cf. Bodhisattvasya cyavanakālasamaye...Bodhisattvasya pūjākarmaṇe ...caturaśītyapsaraḥ śatasahasrāṇi nānātūryyasaṅgītivāditena yena Bodhisattvastenôpāsaṅkrāman...tāni câpsaraḥ śatasahasrāṇi svāṃ svāṃ saṅgītiṃ samprayujya puratah prṣṭhato vāmadakṣiṇe

[1] *Brahmakāyikānāṃ bahūni śata-sahasrāṇi yāvad Akaṇiṣṭhānāṃ devānām*, Lalita-Vistara, p. 52.

[2] Sumaṅgala-Vilāsinī II, Siamese Ed, p. 419.

ca sthitvā Bodhisattvaṃ saṅgītirutasvarena abhistuvanti sma [Lalita-Vistara, Ch. V].

"The jovial ravishing music of the gods, joyous with dancing." Tr

{C. pp. 29, 134. Pl. 32 (Pls. XIV. 2; LIV. 32)—reads *sādika, sādikasa.* Ho. No. 14—translates "Music of the gods, gay with dancing." *Sāḍika* may be taken to be a somewhat irregularly formed equivalent of Sk. *Sāṭika*, a kind of dramatic performance, applicable to the dancing of apsarasas. Sk. *Sārika* means gambling with dice (Tawney). *Sammada* is both an adjective 'gay' and a substantive 'gaiety.' Here it forms a compound with *sāḍika. Turaṃ = tūryaṃ*, musical instrument, music. It is also likely that the three words *sāḍika, saṃmada* and *tura* refer respectively to three groups of dancers, singers, and players on instruments as seen in the amusement-scene below which the label stands. H. No. 50 and L. No. 743—translate "the music of the gods, which gladdens by (*i.e.*, accompanied with) acting." *Sāṭaka*, a *nāṭaka-bheda* (Bharata-Nāṭya-śāstra).}

(*b*) Alaṃbusā acharā. BT (147)

Cf. Alambusā accharā [F. Vol. V. p. 152 foll.; Vimāna-Vatthu, p. 17].

Paścimasmiṃ diśobhāge Alambuṣā devakanyā [Mahāvastu, III, p. 308].

Paścimesmin diśobhāge Alambuṣā deva-kumārī [Lalita-Vistara, p. 390].

Alambuṣā apsarā [Vāyu-Purāṇa, Ch. LXIX].

"Alambuṣā, the heavenly dancer." Tr

(*c*) Misakosi acharā. BT

Misakesi acharā. CT (148)

Cf. Missakesī accharā [Vimāna-Vatthu, p. 47].

Paścimasmiṃ diśobhāge Miśrakeśī devakanyā [Mahāvastu III, p. 323; Lalita-Vistara, p. 390].

Miśrakeśī apsarā [Vāyu-Purāṇa, Ch. LXIX].

" Miśrakeśī, the heavenly dancer." Tr

(*d*) Padumāvati acharā. BT (149)

Cf. Puṇḍarīkā accharā [Vimāna-Vatthu, p. 47].

Puṇḍarīkā apsarā [Vāyu-Purāṇa, Ch. LXIX].

Uttarasmin diśobhāge Padumāvatī deva-kanyā [Mahāvastu III, p. 309].

Uttaresmiṃ diśobhāge Padmāvatī deva-kumārī [Lalita-Vistara, p. 391].

" Padmāvatī, the heavenly dancer." Tr

(*e*) Subhadā acharā. BT (150)

Cf. Subhaddā accharā [Vimāna-Vatthu, p. 47].

" Subhadrā, the heavenly dancer." Tr

" The scene of a celestial musical performance consisting of the dances, songs and concerts of the apsarasas and expressive of the joy of the gods over their success in inducing the Bodhisattva to be born in the womb and in anticipation of the happy advent." E

[The order of the five labels attached to the above scene calls for a comment. The label put first in this monograph has been engraved, as noticed by Cunningham, below the four labels referring to the four dancing *apsarasas*, and below and at one side of the scene itself. The order in which the *apsarasas* have been enumerated by Cunningham, Hultzsch and Lüders is warranted neither by the scene itself where prominence is accorded to *Alambusā* the heavenly dancer in the centre, standing pointedly behind the child on its right side, nor by the traditional lists except one in the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas in which *Miśrakeśī* has been given the precedence over *Alambuṣā*. In the Harivaṃśa list quoted by Cunningham, the name of *Alambuṣā* stands before that of *Miśrakeśī*. So in the Vimāna-Vatthu list of twelve *apsarasas* mentioned by name,[1] *Alambuṣā* comes

[1] Vimāna-Vatthu, p. 47 :—

Nandā c'eva sunandā ca Soṇadinnā Suvimhitā,
Alambusā Missakesī ca Puṇḍarikâtidāruṇī
Eṇipassā Supassā ca Subhaddā Mudukāvadī
Etā c'aññā ca seyyāse accharānaṃ pabodhiyā.

Cf. Vāyu-Purāṇa list of 34 apsarasas, *ibid*, Ch. LXIX, vs. 4-7.

before *Miśrakeśī*, the latter before *Puṇḍarīkā* corresponding evidently to *Padumāvatī* of the label, and she before *Subhaddā*. In the Mahāvastu list of 32 celestial damsels (*deva-kanyā*), divided into four groups of eight each and allocated to four quarters, *Alambuṣā* stands before *Miśrakeśī* among the damsels of the western quarter, while the name of *Padumāvatī* is found among the damsels of the northern quarter, usually coming after the western. The identification of *Puṇḍarīkā* with *Padmāvatī* is not justified by the Lalita-Vistara list where *Padmāvatī* is mentioned as a divine damsel other than *Puṇḍarīkā*.[1] But it seems likely that the conception of *Padmāvatī* was a later offshoot of the earlier conception of *Puṇḍarīkā*. The prominence given to *Alambuṣā* is clearly brought into relief in the Pâli Alambusa-Jātaka (F. No. 523) where she had to be selected from amongst 2½ crores of heavenly courtezans as the only agent of seduction of the Bodhisat *Isisiṅga* of great ascetic vow. The Vimāna-Vatthu and the Mahāvastu lists of the apsarasas have each an importance of its own. The former mentions twelve names of which four appear in the Barhut labels, and the Barhut scene itself contains twelve figures. The peculiar importance of the latter consists in the allocation of the damsels to different quarters and spelling of the names of *Alaṃbusā* and *Padumāvatī* is almost the same as that of the Barhut labels. The names themselves are suggestive of personal accomplishments, as hinted at in some of the ballads of the Vimāna-Vatthu.[2] For instance, *Miśrakeśī* is one with chequered coiffure; *Alambhūṣā*, transformed into *Alambuṣā* means one endowed with beauty enough to dispense with all artificial ornaments—one best adorned while unadorned. In the 69th chapter of the Vāyu-Purāṇa, the *apsarasas* are broadly divided into two classes—(1) Laukikī or Mauneyā, and (2) Divyā. According to this division, *Miśrakeśī*, *Alambuṣā*, and the remaining 32 apsarasas fall under the *Laukikī* class. They were, according to the Pauranic description, noted for their peerless beauty and quick movements; the *Divyā* class naturally includes the *apsarasas* mentioned in the Veda, *Menakā*, *Rambhā* and the rest. The expression *devānaṃ* seems to be intended to convey both a possessive and an adjectival sense; in its adjectival sense it is the same as *divya* or celestial and qualifies *turaṃ* before it, cf. *pañcapsaraḥ ashasrāṇi divya-tūryya-saṅgīti-sampravāditena* (Lalita-Vistara, p. 110).

[1] Lalita-Vistara, p. 390.

[2] Alambhus in Bengali means an idle, worthless fellow. *Cf.* the Epic *Alambuṣaḥ Ghatotkacaḥ*.

The word *tura*, *turiya* or *tūrya* appears to have been used in the Buddhist literature in the triple sense of musical measure (*tāla*, *tāḍa*), musical instrument, and playing on musical instruments with or without the accompaniment of dancing, singing and the rest. In some of the Buddhist works we have mention of some three musical measures, *viz.*, (*i*) *pāṇissara*, *kaṃsatāla* or *pāṇitāla*; (*ii*) *Vetāla* or *ghanatāla*; (*iii*) *kumbhathūṇa* (*udaka-vādya*) or *caturassa ambhanaka* or *ammaṇa tāla*. The *turiya* in the sense of musical instruments is said to be of five kinds (*pañcaṅgika-turiyaṃ*, *pañca-turiyaṃ*);[1] (*i*) *atata*—the drums covered with leather on one side; (*ii*) *vitata*—the drums covered with leather on both sides; (*iii*) *atata-vitata*—the drums completely covered with leather; (*iv*) *ghana*—instruments played by striking, such as cymbals, tambourines and bells; (*v*) *susira*—wind instruments (Childers *sub voce*). *Saṃmadaṃ*, Pali *sammadaṃ*, Sk. *sammadam* or *sammodam* means literally that which causes intoxication or exhilaration, cf. Pâli *bhatta-sammada*, drowsiness due to a heavy meal (Childers *sub voce* sammada). Here it seems to mean that which is delightful or rapturous (*manoramaṃ*, *manojñaṃ*), *i.e.*, *sammada* = *sammoda*.[2] If *sammada* could be rightly equated with *sammata*, it would mean considered or estimated, *Sāḍika* is a most baffling word. It seems to have affinity first with Pâli *sāḍikkha*, *sārikkha*, and Sk. *sadṛka*, *sadṛkṣa*, meaning suitable to or befitting the occasion; secondly with a word like *ṣāṇḍika* meaning appertaining to a group or assembly, as well as *sātika* or *sādika* meaning that which is pleasing to the senses (*savaṇeyya* or *śravaṇīya*). It may as well be equated with a word like *sāduka* or *svāduka* meaning that which is sweet. It seems more probable that *sāṭika* here stands for *sāṭikā* or *śāṭikā*, meaning dress or professional equipage, *i.e.*, what is aptly called in the Buddhist works the *ābharaṇa-bhūṣā* of the *apsarasas*. The suggestion that *Sāḍika* is the same as *Sāṭaka* or *Saṭṭaka* in the sense of a kind of dramatic performance (*nāṭaka-bheda*) seems quite convincing, if it can be proved that *Sāṭaka* was either in existence or was recognised as a distinct class of drama at the time when the Barhut railing was erected. This is not however to suggest that *tura* or *turiya* of the label excludes the idea of a dramatic performance. Though the primary idea of *turiya* is instrumental music (*vādita*, *vāditra*), that of *saṅgīta* is singing (*gīta*), and that of *nāṭya* or *nāṭaka* is dancing (*nacca*, *nṛtya*),[3] they are found to be inseparably bound together,

[1] Cf. Kāma-sūtra, Benares Ed., p. 33.

[2] Cf. *Kusumagandhasammoda* (Paramatthajotikā 1, p. 111).

[3] Kāma-sūtra, Ch. 10: *sanṛttaṃ anṛttaṃ vā gītaṃ vāditaṃ*.

as well as associated with scenic representation, ballad-recitation and acting. At any rate, these things happen to be invariably mentioned or implied in Buddhist literature, wherever there is reference to the *tūryyas* of the *apsarasas* and of the royal courtezans collectively called *nāṭaka*, *nāṭakī* or *nāṭaka-strī*.] N

3. Bhagavato ūkraṃti. BT (151)

[Cf. Bodhisatto Tusitā kāyā cavitvā mātukucchiṃ okkamati (okkanto hoti, loke uppanno) [Dīgha II, pp. 12-13, 53].

Bodhisatto setavaravāraṇo hutvā.....paṭisandhiṃ gaṇhi [F. Vol. 1, p. 50].

Bodhisattvāḥ...Tuṣitabhavanam upagamya manujabhavam abhikāṃkṣamānāḥ mātuḥ kukṣim avataranti.....garbhâvakrāntisampannāśca samyak sambuddhā bhavanti [Mahāvastu I, p. 142].

Bodhisattvas Tuṣitavarabhavanāccyutvā.....pāṇḍuragajarūpo bhūtvā... (mātuḥ) kukṣâvavakrāmata [Lalita-Vistara, p. 63].

(Bhagavataḥ) garbhâvakrānti [Lalita-Vistara, p. 86].

"The Descent of the Divine Being." Tr.

{C. p. 138; Pl. 89 (Pls. XXVIII. 2, LV. 89)—reads *rukdanti*. H. No. 98—reads *okranti*. L. No. 801.}

"The scene of the Descent of the Bodhisattva from the Tuṣita heaven into queen Māyā's womb to be born on earth as man and her dream thereof." E

[*Ukraṃti*, *okkanti*, *avakkanti* or *avakrānti* means in popular usage conception or commencement of maternity. Three factors are said to be indispensable to conception: (1) parental union, (2) maternal competence, and (3) transmission of the paternal element.[1] The process of conception, as commonly held, implies a combination or unification of paternal and maternal elements.[1] *Avakrānti*, *avakramaṇa* or *avataraṇa*, as opposed to *utkrānti* or *utkramana*, means the descent, ingress or intrusion of the vital spirit from a particular embodiment or corporeality, *cf.* the Upaniṣadic expression *utkrānta-prāṇān*.[2] The association of the idea of coming and passing with the vital spirit is a matter of almost universal belief. This latter

[1] Divyâvadāna, p. 1.
Chāndogya Up., VII, 15-2-3.

belief implies the addition of the vital spirit coming from outside to the unified parental elements whether at the moment of parental union or after certain stages of gestation, when the skull and brain are formed,[1] and this is at the root of the religious rite called *prāṇa-pratiṣṭhā* of images. Side by side with these beliefs, there has sprung into being another, which is by far the most daring and spiritual and suggestive of the immortality of divine personality. This is no other than that of the belief in the bodily descent and resurrection.[2] It is on this phase of belief that the Indian doctrine of incarnation seems to have been based, the doctrine which is characteristically Bhagavatic. And it is precisely in this Bhagavatic sense that the expression *ūkraṃti* seems to have been used in the Barhut label and the Jātaka texts quoted above from the Buddhist literature. As for *avakrānti=ūkranti*, cf. Pâli *avahaṇa=ūhaṇa*.] N

4. Mahāsāmāyikāya Arahaguto devaputo vokato bhagavato sāsani paṭisaṃdhi. BT (152)

Cf. Jātamātrasya Maheśvaro devaputraḥ Śuddhâvāsakāyikān devaputrānām atraivam āha...bodhisattva mahāsattvo manuṣyoloke utpanno na cirād âsavakṣayād anuttarāṃ samyak sambodhiṃ abhisambhotsyate ... tattva-vyākaraṇena ca bodhisattvaṃ vyākṛtya punarapy āgamisyāmaḥ [Lalita-Vistara, pp. 127-9].

"In the great assembly (of the gods) the future inauguration of the Law of the Divine Master is being announced by the Angel Arhadgupta, the protector of the Arhats." Tr

{C. p. 137 ; Pl. 66 (Pls. XVI. 2, LIV. 66)—reads *dhakato, sisani*. Ho. No. 23—reads *dhokato, sāsati*. H. No. 80. L. No. 777}.

"The scene of the visit of the Angel Arhadgupta with his retinue to the palace of Śuddhodana for paying homage to the newly born princely Bodhisattva and predicting the inception of the Law of the Divine Teacher." E

[It is yet to be ascertained whether *mahāsāmāyikāya* is a Loc. Fem. Sing. or an adjective qualifying *Arhadgupta*. According to Buddhaghoṣa's

[1] Barua, History of Pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy, pp. 76-77.

[2] *Cf.* The Rāmāyaṇa account of Śarabhaṅga's death.

comment, the term *mahāsamaya* is used in the sense of a great multitude or assembly (*samaya samūhatthe*, Atthasālini, p. 57). Any god or angel with the name of *Arahaguta* or *Arhadgupta* is met with nowhere in the Buddhist texts now within our reach. *Sāsani* need not be construed as a Loc. Sing. of *sāsana*, for there are instances where the expression *bhagavato sāsani* may be construed as the same in meaning as *satthu-sāsana* or *śāstā-śāsana*. *Vokato=Vyākṛtaḥ* or *vyavakṛtaḥ*. The construction is in the Passive Voice.] N

5. Arahaguto devaputo. BT (153)

Cf. Ṛṣiguptaḥ devaputraḥ [Lalita-Vistara, p. 5].

"The Angel Arhadgupta, Protector of the Arhats." Tr

{C.p. 142; Fl. 3 (Pls. XX, LVI. Frag. 3). Ho. No. 23. H. No. 80 f. n. L. No. 814.}

"The scene of the Bodhisattva's Renunciation to become a Divine Teacher and the protection of his cause by the angels headed by Arhadgupta." E

[The label, as noted by Cunningham and his eminent successors, is fragmentary, and there is no reason for surprise if it was followed either by a separate label or by a clause with the words *Bhagavato abhiniṣkramaṇa*[1] or the like. According to the Lalita-Vistara and the Mahāvastu, the name of the protecting god, precisely as in the case of the preceding label, is *Maheśvaraḥ*]. N

6. (*a*) Vejayaṃto pāsāde. BT
Vejayaṃto pāsādo. CT (154)
Vejayaṃte pāsāḍe. CT (154)
(*b*) Sudhaṃmā deva-sabhā. BT (155)
(*c*) Bhagavato cūḍā-maho. BT (156)

Cf. Vejayantapāsādo [F. Vol. I, p. 203].
Vejayanto nāma pāsādo [Sumaṅgala-Vilāsinī, Siamese Ed., II, p. 417].
Vejayanta-ratho [Dīgha II, p. 175 : F. Vol. I, p. 202].

[1] Cf. *Bhagavato abhinikkhamana* (Dīgha II, p. 51).

Sudhammā sabhā [Dīgha II, pp. 207, 220].
Sudhammā deva-sabhā [Sumaṅgala-Vilāsinī, Siamese Ed., II, p. 417].
Sudhammā devamaṇisabhā [F. Vol. I, p. 204].
Tāvatiṃsa-bhavane cūḷāmaṇi-cetiyo [F. Vol. I, p. 65].
Trāyastriṃśatsu deveṣu cūḍāmaho [Lalita-Vistara, p. 225].
Trāyastriṃśadbhavane cūḍāmahaṃ vartati [Mahāvastu II, pp. 165-6].

(a-c) "The Palace of Victory."
"The Righteous Council-Chamber of the gods."
"The festival in honour of the hair-lock of the Divine Master." Tr

(a-c) "In the Palace of Victory."
"The assembly of the gods in the Sudharmā Council-Hall."
"The festival in honour of the head-dress of the Divine Being." Tr

(c-a) "The assembly of the gods in the Sudharmā Council-Hall."
"The festival in honour of the Divine Being's dressed hair-lock."
"In the Vaijayanta palace." Tr

{C. pp. 136-137; PI. 64-65 (Pls. XVI. Upper Reief, LIV. 64-65)—reads *pāsāde*, Ho. Nos. 25(*a*), 25(*b*). H. Nos. 78(1), 78(2)—*pāsāde* is probably a clerical mistake for *pāsādo*. L. No. 775}.

"The scene of the Bodhisattva's adoption of asceticism for the fulfilment of his divine mission, signified by a change in garments and the removal of his dressed hair-lock, subsequently enshrined by the gods in Indra's heaven Trayastriṃśa." E

[In the arrangement of Cunningham and other previous scholars the label *Sudhaṃmā devasabhā* stands first and the label *Vejayaṃta-Pāsāde* or *Vejayaṃto Pāsādo* stands last. This may be justified only by construing *Vejayaṃta-Pāsāde* as a locative phrase. The palace is called *Vejayaṃta* not because it belongs to Indra, the Victorious, but because it rose up, as stated in the Kulāvaka-Jātaka at the time of *Śakra's* or *Indra's* victory over the

Demons.[1] *Vejayanta* or *Vaijayanta* occurs also as the name of Indra's royal car or mansion (*ratha. vimāna*), *Vaijayantī* or *Vaijayantika* denotes the royal flag or banner flying over the *Vaijayanta* car and palace. According to Buddhist mythology, the famous Council-Hall of Indra's heaven came to be called *Sudharmā* after and in commemoration of *Sudharmā*, a pious queen of Magadha.[2] Höernle seems quite justified in thinking that here *sabhā* refers not so much to the Council-Hall as to the assembly of the gods itself. All the three labels refer to a scene forming a sequel to the Bodhisattva's self-initiation into asceticism, technically described as *Bhagavato Pabbajjā* in the Dīgha II, p. 51.] N

C. Jātaka Labels recording episodes of the *Santike* section of Gautama's life:

1. Brahmadevo mānavako. BT (157)

Cf. Subrahmadevaputrapramukhā Brahmakāyikā devāḥ [Lalita-Vistara, p. 359].

"The young [Rūpa-] Brahma deity Subrahmā." Tr

{C. p. 137; PI. 76 (Pls. XIX, LIV). H. No. 87. L. No. 788—*mānavaka*-young Brahmin.}

"The label refers to the scene of Subrahmā's visit to the Buddha for congratulation on his conquest of Māra." E

(*i*) those of the *Adhigama-Nidāna*;

[2. Bhagavato Sākamunino bodho.][3] BT (158)

[Cf. Bhagavato abhisambodhi [Dīgha II, p. 52].
[Bodhisattassa] bodhimaṇḍe sabbaññutappatti [F. Vol. I, p. 77].
Mahāsattassa buddhabhāva-patti [Atthasālinī, p. 33].
Bhagavataḥ bodhi [Lalita-Vistara, pp. 12 foll.].
Bhagavataḥ abhisambodhana [Lalita-Vistara, p. 657].

"The Awakening (or Enlightenment) of the Divine Master Śākyamuni." Tr.

"The scene of the Bodhisattva's first awakening as to the nature of Dharmatā." E

[1] *Vijayante utthitattā Vejayanto t'eva nāmaṃ akaṃsu.*

[2] F. Vol. I, p. 204.

[3] The label is repeated here with a purpose. The word *bodho* or *bodhi* was once previously taken in the sense of the *Bo Tree*, emblematic of a Buddha's whole career, is here taken to signify only a particular event in the Buddha's life.

[The root meaning of the word *bodha* or *bodhi* is the awakening or rising from slumber. Here it is used in the Buddhist technical sense of the first intuition of the mind, purified by the prolonged and conscious efforts, into the nature of reality or real order, and of the first suggestion of the solution of the problem obsessing a reflective mind.] N

[3. Bhagavato dhamacakaṃ.][1] BT (159)

(ii) those of the *Desanā-nidāna.*

Cf. Bhagavato dhammacakka-pavattanaṃ [Dīgha II. p. 52].
Bārānasiyaṃ Isipatane bhagavato paṭhama dhammadesanā [Milinda pp. 349-350.]
Dhammacakkappavattiṃ [Mahāvaṃsa XXX. 79].
Bhagavatā dharmacakraṃ pravartanaṃ [Lalita-Vistara and Mahā-vastu].

"The Dharmacakra of the Divine Teacher." Tr

"The scene of Buddha's Discourse called Dharmacakra-pravartana meaning turning of the Wheel of the Law or setting the Dharmacakra in motion, symbolising the Buddha's first formal declaration of his thought-order, public inauguration of his system of righteousness, and rolling of a vehicle of salvation." E

[The term *Dharmacakra* seems to have been coined on the analogy of *Brahmacakra* and in contradistinction to *Sudarśanacakra* considered as a mere weapon of destruction. The ideas governing the conception of *Brahmacakra* are astronomico-cosmical and physio-psychological, and suggest a double metaphor of a chariot wheel, the rolling of which symbolises the cyclical motion of time, seasons and the rest, and of the potter's wheel, the creative movements of which symbolise the creative functions of the cosmic forces. Buddha's *Dharmacakra* at once supplements and transcends the earlier scientific conceptions of *Brahmacakra* and rectifies the popular, fanciful and poetical notion of a vehicle moving towards the paradise. That is to say, Buddha's conception of *Dharmacakra* is transcendental idealistic as opposed to the empirico-idealist position of older Vedānta, and abstract as opposed to the concrete of popular mythology and poetical imagery. With the development of the idea of Buddhism as a path of

[1] The label is deliberately placed here. It has a different significance in the Barhut context, see *passim.*

salvation, the old Indian popular and fanciful notions crept in and the abstract conception of *Dharmacakra* degenerated into what it was originally designed to supplement, transcend and rectify, namely, into that of the wheel fitted with a vehicle, bodily moving to the paradise. This transition of thought is vividly represented in the following Saṃyutta-verse (S.I. p. 33) :

Ujuko nāma so maggo, abhayā nāma sā disā,
Ratho akūjano nāma dhammacakkena saṃyuto.

The Buddhists have not always been able to observe the nice distinction between the *Dharmacakra* as the enunciation of a law and its literary representation in the form of a Discourse and in cases, the two are hopelessly confused. But we must take the *Dharmacakra* as occurring in the label here in the sense of a particular event of Buddha's life]. N.

4 Jaṭila-sabhā. BT (160)

Cf. Jaṭilānaṃ pabbajjā [F. I. p. 82; Divyâvadāna, p. 393].
Jaṭila-damanaṃ [Mahāvaṃsa, Ch. XXX].
Ājīviya-sabhā [Jaina Uvāsaga-Dasāo, Ch. VI].

"The assembly of the Jaṭilas." Tr
"The Jaṭilas in assembly." Tr

{C. pp. 93, 131; CI. 13. (Pl. LIII. C. 13; Indian Museum, 114). H. No. 13. L. No. 702}.

"The label records, no doubt, the scene of Conversion by the Buddha of three Kāśyapa brothers, together with their followers." E

[*Jaṭila* literally means 'One who wears matted hair.' According to its technical meaning, the term signifies a class of ascetics marked out by the matted hair worn on their head. The *Keśis*, as described in a Ṛgvedic hymn, were a class of ascetics who used to wear long loose locks of hair. The wearing of matted hair and garments made of bark (*jaṭā-valkala*) was the common outward characteristic of the ancient Indian order of hermits, of *Ṛṣi-pravrajyā*. The *Ṛṣis* and *Munis* were members of the older *Vānaprastha* order. The members of this order lived in hermitages, with or without family. This order was essentially based upon the domestic principle. There were elements of corporate life in this order. We hear of the band of *Vālakhilya ṛṣaya* or saintly pigmies living

together in one place. The *Jaṭilas* referred to in the Barhut label were not solitary hermits. They formed three large bodies of ascetics each following a distinct leadership. It is this corporate life which marked them out from the ordinary members of the *Vānaprastha* order. They formed a connecting link between the *Vānaprastha* and *Parivrājaka* orders. They were not mendicants like the Wanderers. *Sabhā* primarily connotes the idea of a court, and indirectly of any assembly or association, where the behaviour of the members is courtier-like. The distinctive feature of a *Sabhā* in its general sense is sitting in rows in appointed seats according to ranks of the members, and it can perhaps be taken to suggest the idea of a hierarchical arrangement and gradation.] N

5. (*a*) Jetavana Anadhapeḍiko deti koṭisaṃthatena keto. BT (161)

Cf. Anāthapiṇḍiko gahapati sakaṭehi hiraññaṃ nibbāhāpetuṃ Jetavanaṃ koṭisanthāraṃ santharāpesi [Cullavagga p. 159].

Anāthapiṇḍiko gahapati...Jetavanaṃ koṭisanthārena aṭṭhārasahiraññakoṭīhi kiṇitvā ..buddhapamukhassa saṃghassa adāsi [F. Vol. I. pp. 92-93].

Sāvatthiyā samīpe Jetassa vanaṃ Anāthapiṇḍikassa ārāmo [Paramatthajotikā I. p. 113].

"Anāthapiṇḍika dedicates Jetavana (Prince Jeta's garden), purchased with a layer of crores." Tr

{C. pp. 84, 133; PI. 20 (Pls. XXVIII. 3, LIII. 20, LVII)—reads *Ketā*. H. No. 38. L. No. 731}.

(b) Ga[ṃ]dhakuṭi. BT (162)

Cf. Jetavanassa majjhe Dasabalassa Gandhakuṭi [F. Vol. I. p. 92].

Bhagavato Jetavane Mahāgandhakuṭi [Paramattha-jotikā II. p. 403].

"Gandhakuṭi—the Fragrant Cottage." Tr

{C. pp. 85, 87, 133; PI. 22 (Pls. XXVIII. 3, LIII. 22, LVII). H. No. 40. L. No. 733}.

(c) Kosa[ṃ]bakuṭi. BT (163)

Cf. Bhagavato Jetavane Kosaṃbakuṭi [Paramattha-jotikā II. p. 403].

Jetavanassa paccante Kosaṃbakuṭikā [Sārattha-Pakāsinī, Siamese Ed., I. p. 361].

"Kosambakuṭi—the Perfumed Cottage" Tr

{C. pp. 85, 87, 133; Pl. 21 (Pls. XXVIII. 3, LIII. 21, LVII). H. No. 39. L. No. 732}.

"The scene of dedication to the Buddhist Order, with the Buddha at the head, of Jeta's Garden as a monastic residence, along with all new additions of buildings, pavilions and the rest, by Anāthapiṇḍika, the great banker, who had to purchase the garden from Prince Jeta for cartloads of 18 crores of gold pieces, sufficient to cover almost the whole plot of land." E

[*Jetavana* is the famous Buddhist monastic residence in a suburb of Śrāvastī. This is otherwise known as *Anāthapiṇḍika's* or *Anāthapiṇḍada's ārāma*. The former designation, according to a Buddhist Commentary,[1] commemorates the name of the former owner of the garden, *i.e.*, of Prince *Jeta*, son of King Prasenajit,[2] and the latter designation bears the name of its subsequent owner, *i.e.*, of the Banker *Anāthapiṇḍika*. It is suggested that such commemoration was intended to serve as an inducement to others for the acts of piety. Although Prince *Jeta* sold his garden for a huge sum of money, it is stated in the Cullavagga (p. 159) that he added a large number of gold pieces to those of *Anāthapiṇḍika* to complete the covering of the land with coins, and there is no clear indication that Prince *Jeta* received the money from the purchaser for himself. On the other hand, the Cullavagga account creates an impression that he supplemented the sale proceeds by his own contribution for the conversion of his pleasure-garden into a Buddhist monastic residence. This is clearly borne out by the evidence of the Commentary, referred to above, in which we are told that the prince had not only parted with the sale proceeds but made some additional gifts which, added to *Anāthapiṇḍika's* princely donation, just sufficed to complete the project. Cunningham is right in saying that the *Gandhakuṭi* and the *Kosaṃbakuṭi*, used by the Buddha as his private chambers, were not in the original garden. The word *Kosamba* has nothing to do with *Kauśāmbī*, the capital of the Vatsa country, as suggested by Hultzsch. It seems to be a Pâli counterpart of Sk. *Kausumbha*, meaning sweet-scented, or literally, bearing the perfume of *Kusumbha* flower. *Keto*

[1] Paramatthajotikā I pp. 112-113.

[2] Rockhill's Life of the Buddha, p. 48.

is a clerical mistake for *ketaṃ*, meaning 'purchased.' If the reading *ketā* be adopted, it would mean 'purchaser.'] N

6. Idasāla-guha. BT
Iṃdasāla-guhā. BT (164)

Cf. Sakkapañhasuttaṃ (Indasāla-guhāyaṃ) [Dīgha II].
Indasāla-guhāyaṃ Sakkapañha-samāgamo [Milindapañha, pp. 349-50].
Indraśaila cave [Hwen Thsang].

"Indraśāla cave." Tr

{C. p. 138; PI. 92 (Pls. XXVIII; LV. 92). H. No. 99. L. No. 805.}

"The scene of Śakra's visit to the Buddha at the Indraśāla Cave of the Vediyaka mountain in Āmraṣaṇḍa, a Brahmin village near Rājagṛha, and Buddha's Discourse in reply to Śakra's questions."

[For notes on *Indsālaguhā* see Section III.] N

7. Tirami timigala-kuchimha Vasuguto mācito Mahādevānaṃ. BT
Tiramhi timiṃgila-k uchimhā Vasuguto mocito Mahādevena. CT (165)

Cf. Baṇijaḥ [timiṅgila-] mahāgrāhamukhād vinirmuktaṃ anuguṇaṃ vāyum āsādya tīram anuprāptaṃ Buddhasya Bhagavato nāmagrahaṇāt [Divyâvadāna p. 232].[1]
[Timiṅgilasya] kālavaktrāt pravahaṇaṃ muktam.....sarve tīrṇāh tīvratarāt bhayāt [Dharmarucyavadāna in Bodhisattvâvadānakalpalatā, No. 89].

"Vasugupta is brought ashore, being rescued from Timiṅgila's belly (by the power of the name of) the mighty godly saviour." Tr

{C. p. 142; RI. 66 (Pl LVI. R. 66)—reads *Tiranuti Migila Kuchimha Vasu Guto machito Mahade vanam.* H. No. 159 f.n. L. No 831.}

[1] We are indebted for this reference to Mr. N. G. Majumdar of the Calcutta University

The scene of the merchants under the leadership of Vasugupta being saved from the grim jaws of the leviathan by the power of the Buddha's name." E

[*Timiṅgila* is just one of the three species of the leviathan wrongly considered to be fishes, two other species being *Timi* and *Timiṅgilagila*.[1] The distinction between them seems to rest on their bodily shapes and sizes. *Timi, Timinda* or *Timiṅgila* is, according to Childers, the name of a certain fish of enormous size that haunts the oceans between the *kulācalas* (Anglo-Pâli Dict., *sub voce* Timi). The Pâli Mahāsutasoma-Jātaka (F. No. 537) recognises six species of monster fishes in the ocean, amongst whom *Ānanda, Timanda* (*Timinda?*), and *Ajjhohāra* are said to be 500 leagues in compass, and the three varieties of *Timis*, represented by *Timi, Timiṅgala* and *Timirapiṅgala*, are described as being each 1000 leagues in length—all of them feeding upon the rock-*śaivāla* weed, the aquatic plant *vallisneria*.[2] In the Ulūka-Jātaka (F. No. 270) *Ānanda* is represented as the king of fishes. It is impossible in the absence of the original inscription to verify Cunningham's eye-copy or to suggest relying thereon that in *mahādevānaṃ* we have a Genitive plural form, used in an Instrumental sense, though such instances are not rare in the dialects of Aśokan Edicts]. N

8. Ṭanacakama Parirepo. BT

Vanacaṃkamo Pārireyo. CT (166)

Cf. Pārileyyako rakkhitavanasaṇḍo [Vinaya Mahāvagga, X. 4. 6]. Pārileyyakavanasaṇḍo [F. III. p. 489].

"The woodland resort Pārileya." Tr

{C. Pl. LVI. Frag. 20.}

"The label seems to have been attached to a scene of the grassy woodland, where the Buddha spent a rainy season,

[1] Divyâvadāna p. 502: *Timibhayaṃ, Timiṅgilabhayaṃ, Timitimiṅgilabhayaṃ*. At p. 229, there is mention only of two species, viz *Timi* and *Timiṅgila*.

[2] Fausböll Vol. V p. 462—reads *titimiti Miṅgalo Timirapiṅgalo*, which is evidently a mistake for *ti-Timi-Timiṅgala-Timirapiṅgalo*, not corrected in its English translation. Mahāvastu (III., pp. 355, 454, 246) mentions *Timi, Timiṅgila* and *Timingilagila*. Amarakoṣa distinguishes four species: *Timi, Timiṅgila, Timiṅgilagila* and *Rāghava*, enumerated in the order of one being capable of swallowing the preceding one.

being waited upon and guarded by the elephant Pārileyyaka or Pāreraka." E

[The *Pārileyyaka* or *Pāreraka* woodland, used as a resort by the Buddha during a rainy season, is said to have derived its name from the *Pārileyyaka* elephant that guarded it. The story of this elephant is given in the Mahāvagga of the Vinaya-Piṭaka, the Kosambī-Jātaka of the Jātaka-Comy (F. No. 428), and the Kosambakavatthu of the Dhammapada-Comy.] N

9. Ajātasata Bhagavato vaṃdate. BT
Ajātasatu Bhagavato vaṃdate. CT (167)

Cf. Māgadho Ajātasattu Vedehiputto Bhagavato pāde sirasā vandati [Dīgha II. Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta].

Ajātaśatru Vaidehiputra, the king of Magadha, bows down at the feet of the Blessed One [Rockhill's Life of the Buddha, pp. 123-124].

Rājā Māgadho Ajātasattu Vedehiputto Bhagavantaṃ abhivādetvā bhikkhu-saṃghassa añjaliṃ paṇāmetvā ekam antaṃ nisīdi [Dīgha I. pp. 50-51].

Vaidehiputra Ajātaśatru, the king of Magadha, went up to the Blessed One, and throwing his cloak over one shoulder, he touched the ground with his bended knee, and with clasped hands he spoke [Rockhill's Life of the Buddha, p. 99].

"Ajātaśatru bows down in obeisance to the Divine Master." Tr

{C. p. 136; PI. 63 (Pls. XXII. 2, LIV. 63). Ho. No. 22. H. No. 77. L. No. 774}.

"The label refers to the memorable scene of King Ajātaśatru's interview with the Buddha." E

[*Ajātasatu, Ajātasattu* or *Ajātaśatru* denotes, according to Buddhist derivation, '*an enemy of one's father even before one was born.*' This derivation suggests an after-thought and can be credited only in so far as it is quite in consonance with what the Buddhist thought of *Ajātaśatru's* character as a son. In the Jaina books, the king of this name is called *Kuṇiya, Kunika* or *Kūṇika*, and this latter name is evidently intended to mean 'one with a crooked hand and cunning disposition.' But

Ajātaśatru[1] is also the name of an earlier Indian king mentioned in the Kauṣītakī and Bṛhad-Āraṇyaka Upaniṣads. There he is represented as a good king of Benares, noted for his ability for philosophical discussions. In this older context, *Ajātaśatru* cannot be supposed to have been used in a contemptuous sense. *Ajātaśatru* seems to have been intended to mean 'one whose enemies were not (lit. not born).' *Vaṃdate* does not mean a simple act of bowing down as understood in the West. The process of bowing implied in Buddhist or Indian *vandanā*, considered as a physical act, carries with it the idea of kneeling down with folded hands, touching the feet of the *Guru* or deity, the head or face stooping down to rest thereon. This meaning of *vandanā* is clear from the parallels quoted from the Pāli and other sources. This is also corroborated by the figure of *Ajātaśatru* in the Barhut sculpture.] N

10. (*a*) Rājā Pasenaji Kosalo. BT (168)
(*b*) Bhagavato Dhamacakaṃ. BT (169)

Cf. Rājā Pasenadi Kosalo [Dīgha, I. p. 103]

Rājā Prasenajit Kauśalaḥ (Kauśalo) [Divyâvadāna, pp. 85, 612, 618].

Prasenajit—an Īkṣvāku prince [Purāṇas quoted in Pargiter's Dynasties of the Kali Age, p. 11].

Rāyā Jiyasattu—the king of Sāvatthī [Jaina Uvāsaga Dasāo].

(*a*) "King Prasenajit of Kosala". Tr
(*b*) "The Dharmacakra of the Divine Master." Tr

{C. pp. 90, 134; PI. 40, 39 (Pls. XIII. Inner Face, LIV). Ho. Nos. 10 (b), 10(a). H. Nos. 58, 57. L. Nos. 751, 750.}

"King Prasenajit's last interview with the Buddha as described in the Dhammacetiya-Sutta." E

[*Pasenaji*, like *Ajātasatu*, is an honorific name or a title assumed by the king of Kosala, and its meaning is quite evident from the Jaina synonym *Jiyasattu*, the Conqueror. In the Dhammacetiya-Sutta, King Prasenajit describes himself as a *Kosalaka*, *i.e.*, a native of Kosala. Höernle rightly suggests that *Kosalo*=Sk. *Kauśalaḥ* or *Kauśalyaḥ*, cf. *Kauśalyaḥ* in the Praśnôpaniṣad I. 1.] N

1 Cf. *Ajātaśatrava*, a patronymic of *Ajātaśatru* in the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa V. 5. 5. 14.

11. Atanā marata.... BT

Atanā maraṃtā.... CT(170)

Cf. Sammāsambuddhassa pana ñātakā attanā marantâpi paresaṃ jīvitaṃ na voropenti [Viḍūḍabha-Vatthu, Dhammapada-Comy.].

"[Even though they be] dying themselves." Tr

{C. p. 142 ; RI. 65 (Pls. XXXI. 2, LVI. R 65)—reads *atenā carata*. L. No. 880—translates 'made by himself (?)'}

"The recorded scene is apparently that of Viḍūḍabha's invasion of Kapilavāstu and non-violent attitude of the Śākyas." E

E. Jātaka-Labels attached to figures of Lokapālas or Mahārājas and other Yakṣas, Nāgas and Devatās, both male and female, apparently unconnected with any particular episode of Buddha's life.

1. [Dhataraṭho Yakho.][1] BT (171)
2. Viruḍako Yakho. BT (172)
3. [Virupakho Yakho.][2] BT (173)
4. Kupiro Yakho. BT (174)

Cf. Dhṛtarāṣṭra iva Gandharvagaṇaparivṛto ;
Virūḍhaka iva Kumbhāṇḍagaṇaparivṛto ;
Virupākṣa iva Nāgagaṇaparivṛto ;
Dhanada iva Yakṣagaṇaparivṛto [Divyâvadāna, pp. 126, 148].
Purimaṃ disaṃ rājā Dhataraṭṭho Gandhabbānaṃ adhipati Mahārājā ;
Dakkhiṇaṃ disaṃ rājā Virūḷho Kumbhaṇḍānaṃ adhipati Mahārājā ;
Pacchimaṃ disaṃ rājā Virūpakkho Nāgānaṃ adhipati Mahārājā;
Uttaraṃ disaṃ rājā Kuvero Yakkhānaṃ adhipati Mahārājā [Mahāsamaya-Suttanta and Āṭānāṭiya-Suttanta, Dīgha II, p. 257, III, pp. 197-201].
Kuverassa Alakamaṇḍā nāma rājadhānī, Mahārājassa Visāṇā nāma rājadhānī, tasmā Kuvero Mahārājā Vessavaṇo ti pavuccati [Dīgha III, p. 201].

[1] Supplied by us.
[2] Supplied by us.

Purastime diśobhāge rājā Dhṛtarāṣṭro-Gandharvâdhipati devehi saha rakṣati;

Dakṣiṇasmiṃ diśobhāge rājā Virūḍhako Kumbhāṇḍâdhipati Yamena saha rakṣati;

Paścimasmiṃ diśobhāge rājā Virūpākṣo Nāgâdhipo Varuṇena saha rakṣati;

Uttarasmiṃ diśobhāge rājā Kuvero sarva-Yakṣâdhipo rākṣasehi saha rakṣati [Mahāvastu, pp. 306-309].

Pūrvasmin diśobhāge rājā Dhṛtarāṣṭraḥ sarva-Gandharvapatiḥ Sūryyena saha rakṣati;

Dakṣiṇasyā diśobhāge rājā Virūḍhakaḥ sarva-Kumbhāṇḍâdhipatiḥ Yamena saha rakṣati;

Paścimasmin diśobhāge rājā Virūpākṣaḥ sarva-Nāgâdhipatiḥ Varuṇena saha rakṣati;

Uttarasmin diśobhāge rājā Kuvero naravāhanaḥ sarva-Yakṣānām adhipatiḥ Maṇibhadrena saha rakṣati [Lalita-Vistara, Ch. XXIV].

1. "Dhṛtarāṣṭra Yakṣa—the jealous holder of royal sceptre." Tr

2. "Virūḍhaka or Virudraka Yakṣa—the terrible warrior-god." Tr

3. "Virūpākṣa Yakṣa—the evil-eyed warrior-god." Tr

4. "Kubera Yakṣa—the powerful lord of wealth." Tr

{C. pp. 134, 138; PI. 25, 82 (Pls. LIII, XXII, LV). H. Nos. 43, 92. L. Nos. 736, 794 }

[We have not much to add to Cunningham's notes. *Mahārāja* is the common designation applied in Buddhist books to *Dhṛtarāṣṭra*, *Virūḍhaka*, *Virūpākṣa* and *Kuvera*. It is rather unusual that each of them should be called a *Yakṣa* in the Barhut inscriptions. It is certainly not a departure from the Buddhist literary tradition. There are a few passages where *Kuvera* is styled a *Yakṣa*. As a *Dhanada* or giver of wealth, he deserves to be called a *Yakṣa*. It would seem that the term *Yakṣa* has been used in the Barhut labels in a special sense to denote 'a mighty hero or warrior.' Cunningham has not noticed that *Kuvera* has been described in the Lalita-Vistara as a *naravāhana*, 'one whose vehicle is man.' The figure of *Kuvera* as

sculptured on the Barhut railing distinctly follows the tradition as found in the Lalita-Vistara. The Pâli Âṭāṇāṭiya-Suttanta contains a description of *Uttarakuru*, in which *Alakamaṇḍā* or *Visāṇā*, the capital of *Vessavaṇa Kuvera*, was situated. In this account we have mention of man, woman, young man and young woman used as vehicles. In the Sutta-Nipāta-Comy *Kuvera* is described as *nārivāhana*, 'one having a woman for a vehicle.' [1] We welcome the suggestion of Cunningham that the original meaning of *Kuvera* was 'the hero of the earth,' *Ku* meaning the earth and *Vīra* the hero. That the *Yakṣa*-worship in its ultimate analysis is hero-worship is beyond dispute. *Kuvera* or *Kuvīra* can also be derived as 'one who dominates the earth,' *kuṃ viśeṣeṇa iratîti Kuveraḥ*. According to later etymology, *ku* signifies *kutsita* or 'ugly.' The association of *Kuvera* with *Maṇibhadra* in the Lalita-Vistara is interesting. The Âṭānāṭiya-Suttanta mentions *Indra*, *Soma*, *Varuṇa* and *Maṇi* or *Maṇibhadra* among the *Yakṣa*-generals. In the Mahāvastu and the Lalita-Vistara, *Sūryya* is associated with *Dhṛtarāṣṭra*, *Yama* with *Virūḍhaka*, and *Varuṇa* with *Virūpākṣa*.] N

5. Ajakālako Yakho. BT (175)

Cf. Ajakalāpako Yakkho [Udāna, pp. 4-5].

"Ajakāla Yakṣa—the goat-killer (Unborn Time.)" Tr

{C. pp. 20, 138; Pl. 83(Pl. LV). H. No. 93 and L. No. 795—*Ajakāla* = *Ādyakāla*.}

"The scene of Ajakāla's interview with the Buddha." E

[A Yakṣa, known by the name of *Ajakalāpaka*, appears as the interlocutor of a Buddhist Dialogue in the Udāna, which gives a brief account of his unexpected and undesired interview with the Buddha. The Dialogue lays the scene in Pāṭali, on a spot where the Yakṣa's temple and palace stood. According to the Udāna-Comy, his temple and mansion were situated in Pāvā. The Dialogue says that the Yakṣa grew furious to see the Master seated in his throne, inside his guarded mansion. *Akkula-Bakkula* he cried, and produced various terrific sights to frighten the fearless and strange trespasser, who ventured to enter his sanctuary. This

[1] Paramatthajotikā, II, p. 370.

description is interesting as being suggestive of the frightful nature of the demi-god. There is no doubt that the Pâli *Ajakalāpaka* is the *Ajakālaka* of the inscription. Dr. Hultzsch rightly suggests that *Ajakālaka* is but the Sk. *Ādyakāla*, whom we might take to be a terrible embodiment of the ruthless unborn Time, destroying living beings, whose essence is immortality. The Barhut sculpture, coupled with the evidence of the Udāna-Dialogue and its Commentary, goes to show that in both the mythic cult and popular art, the all-devouring figure of Time or Death came to assume a stereotyped human form. With regard to the origin and significance of the name *Ajakalāpaka*, the Udāna-Commentary records that the *Yakṣa* loved to receive offerings along with the group of goats brought to him for sacrifice, that he caused living beings to be killed like goats, as well as that he felt appeased when men brought him offerings with the cry of the goat, the symbol of the unborn (*aja*). The *Yakṣa* was a hard-hearted and cruel personality, capable of supernatural powers. But so potent was the miracle of the Buddha's presence and instruction that it soon subdued the *Yakṣa* into a gentle listener to the noblest message of the man.] N

6. Gaṃgito Yakho. BT (176)

"Gāṅgeya Yakṣa—the demoniac demigod of the Gangetic region." Tr

{C. p. 134. Pl. 26 (Pls. XXI. 2, LIII). H. No. 44. L. No. 737.}

"The scene of Gāṅgeya's interview with the Buddha." E

[The Jātaka-Commentary (F. No. 288) introduces us to one *Gaṅgādevatā*, the presiding female deity of the Ganges or rivers in general. She is represented as the custodian of fishes. One of the Barhut medallions (C. Pl. XXXVI. 7) bears the representation of this deity, who is mounted on an elephant-faced *makara* and holds a goad in her right hand. The Mahāvyutpatti mentions a serpent-king by the name of *Gāṅgeya*, 'one belonging to the Ganges or Gangetic region.' But nowhere in Indian literature can we trace a *Yakṣa* of the same name. *Gaṃgita* = Pâli *Gaṅgeyya*, Sk. *Gāṅgeya*, cf. *Campeyya-Nāgarājā* of the Campeyya-Jātaka. The Barhut sculpture represents *Gaṃgita Yakha* as a male demi-god standing on an elephant and a tree, placed side by side, with folded hands held on his breast. The tree at once indicates that he is an inhabitant, not of water, but of land.] N

7. Sucilomo Yakho. BT
Sūcilomo Yakho. CT (177)

Cf. Sūcilomo Yakkho [Saṃyutta I. p. 207; Sūciloma-sutta, Sutta-Nipāta, II. S. No. 5.]

Sūcilomo ti yassa sakalasarīraṃ kaṭhina-sūcīhi gavaccitaṃ viya jātaṃ [Sārattha-Pakāsinī, Siamese Ed., I., p. 353].

Sūcisadisalomattā Sūcilomo Yakkho [Paramattha-Jotikā, II., p. 302].

"Sūciloma Yakṣa—the needle-haired demi-god." Tr

{C. p. 136: PI. 60 (Pls, XXII, LIV). H. No. 74, L. No. 771.}

"The label seems to record a scene of Sūciloma Yakṣa's interview with the Buddha." E

[The name of Sūciloma occurs as an interlocutor in two Pâli Dialogues, one incorporated in the Saṃyutta-Nikāya and the other in the Sutta-Nipāta. In both, his residence is said to be *Tuṃkitamañca*, situated in Gayā. According to Buddhaghoṣa's Commentaries, *Taṃkitamañca* was a *Taṃ*-shaped elongated platform or resting place. A *Taṃkitamañca* is really a cell looking from a distance like a mound, consisting of four pieces of stone slabs, supporting a larger piece, spread over them like a roof (and resting on another larger piece). The upper and lower pieces are horizontally rivetted to the four supporters, so that when the house is turned upside down, it remains all the same. Buddhaghoṣa also tells us that this curious dwelling house of the *yakṣa* was situated on a bathing tank in the vicinity of the village of Gayā. This was a place for pilgrimage, dirty on account of spitting, fluid secretion of the nose and other filthy matters excreted by persons coming from different quarters. The body of the *yakṣa* is said to have been covered with spine or prickle-like hair, serving as a means of protection and striking terrors. Whenever the *yakṣa* wanted to frighten other beings, he did so by raising erect his prickle-hair. He is said to have occasionally gone out of his cell for food. The behaviour ascribed to him is quite befitting a porcupine. Our suspicion begins to grow stronger on account of his association with another species of *yakṣa*, namely, the *Khara* or "Rough-skinned." The body of *Khara* is said to have been covered with a rugged skin, marked by square bony plates, resembling so many pieces of bricks, set side by side. When he wanted to frighten other beings, he did so by raising erect his scales. The description of him resembles that of an alligator or crocodile (*suṃsumāra*). The Rāmāyaṇa describes *Khara* as a *Rākṣasa*, who was a brother to *Rāvaṇa*. *Khara* of the

Epic is found to be a dweller of a forest region near about the source of the Godāvarī, and there is nothing in the Epic description except certain general attributes to connect him with a crocodile. He is described in the Epic simply as a savage of heroic character, enormous physical strength and dreadful appearance. But Buddhaghoṣa's description can clearly indicate a process of how there evolved conceptions of *Sūciloma* and *Khara* as two human demi-gods from porcupine and crocodile like animals and reptiles. *Taṃkitamañca*, as described by Buddhaghoṣa, was a good shelter for both a porcupine and a crocodile, the former remaining inside the cell and the latter outside; and this can well explain the association of the two *yakṣas* in the popular mythology. In the Jātakas, a crocodile is described as a being of dreadful appearance (*ruddadassana*). One need not be surprised that the *yakṣas* of the *Khara* species are described in the Mahāsamaya-Suttanta as *Kumbhīra*. The *yakṣas* of the *kumbhīra* species are said to have been inhabitants of Rājagṛha, having their residence on Mt. Vaipulya.[1] The Barhut sculpture represents *Sūciloma* as a human being, thereby showing how a ferocious *yakṣa* like him could be humanieed by the instruction of the Buddha]. N

8. Supāvaso Yakho. BT
Supāvāso Yakho. CT (178)
"Supravāsa Yakṣa." Tr

{C. p. 133 ; PI. 15 (Pl-LIII). H. No. 34. L. No. 726 }

"The scene of Supravāsa's interview with the Buddha." E

[*Supāvāsa* is neither = *Supravasu*, nor = *Suprāvṛsā*, but = *Supravāsa*, cf *Suppāvāsā Upāsikā* (Aṅguttara I). The significance of the name has not yet been ascertained; very likely it refers to a demoniac demigod of a region called *Supravāsa or Suvaṇṇaprabhāsa*. The *Yakṣa* and the *Rakṣa* were, according to the Vāyu-Purāṇa (Ch. LXIX), two sons of *Kāśyapa* and *Khaśā*. According to the Pauranic derivation, *Yakṣa* is derived from a verbal root, meaning 'to eat' 'to drag' (*khādane, kṛṣaṇe*). The earlier Buddhist texts, have not sufficiently distinguished between the *Yakṣas*, the *Rākṣasas* and *Piśācas*. The differentiation seems to have taken place in the later literature of India.] N

[1] Dīgha II.: *Kumbhīro Rājagahiko Vepullassa nivesanaṃ,*
Bhiyyo naṃ satasahassaṃ yakkhānaṃ payurapāsatī

9. (*a*) Erapato Nāgarājā. BT
Erāpato Nāgarājā. CT (179)

Cf. Erāpatho ahirājā [Cullavagga V. 6].
Erāpatha-nāgarājā [F. II, p. 145].
Elāpatro nāgarājā [Mahāvastu III, p. 384;, Mahāvyutpatti, 167-44].
Ailapatraḥ pradhāna-nāgaḥ [Vāyu-Purāṇa, LXIX. 70].

"Elâpatra (Ailapatra), the Dragon-chief." Tr

{C. p. 134; PI. 41 (Pls. XIV. 3, LIV)—reads *Nāja*. H. No. 59. L. No. 752.}

(*b*) Erāpato Nāgarajā bhagavato vadate. BT
Erāpato Nāgarājā bhagavato vaṃdate. CT (180)

Cf. Erakapatto nāgarājā bhagavantaṃ vanditvā [Dhammapada-Comy., Erakapatta-Vatthu].

"Elâpatra, the Nāga-king, bows down to the Divine Master." Tr

{C. p. 135; PI. 42 (Pls. XIV. 3, LIV). H. No. 60. L. No. 753.}

"The adoration of the Buddha by Elāpatra." E

[*Erakapatta* or *Erāpatha* is represented in the Vinaya Cullavagga and in the Khandhavatta-Jātaka as one of the four Nāga-kings.[1] In the Mahāvastu he is mentioned as one of the four immensely rich persons and is said to be an inhabitant of Taxila. Höernle's suggestion as to *Erapata* or *Erāpata* being a wrong spelling of *Airāvata* or *Airāvaṇa* is untenable. In the Vāyu-Purāṇa (LXIX. 70), *Airāvata* and *Ailapatra* are mentioned among the descendants of *Kadru*. The name of the Nāga-king requires explanations. The diversity of spellings is hopelessly confusing. *Erakapatta*, *Erapata*, *Elāpatra* and *Ailapatra* form one category. *Elâpatra* was, according to Hwen Thsang, the name of a tree. According to the Dhammapada-Comy, *Erakapatta* is the leaf of the *Eraka*-tree. Is this not fantastic? When a wrong Sanskritisation established the spelling *Elâpatra* or *Ailapatra*, it called forth a special mythology to explain it. Two explanations seem quite possible: either (1) that *Erāpatha* was a Prakritic form of *Erāprastha* or *Ilâprastha*, the city built by *Ilā* or *Aila*, or (2) that *Erāpatha* or the Sheep-beaten-track was the name of a caravan route that passed through

[1] Other three kings are—*Virūpakkha*, *Chabyāputta* and *Kaṇhagotamaka*.

Takṣaśilâ[1] and ultimately lent its name to the city or locality itself. *Era* = *Eraka* = *Eḷaka* = *Meṇḍa* or *Meṇḍaka*, the ram. The Mahāniddesa (p. 156) mentions *Meṇḍapatha* as the name of a country lying beyond *Ajapatha* and a sandy wilderness (*marukàntāra*). According to the Apaṇṇaka and Vaṇṇu-(Jaṇṇu)-patha Jātakas (F. Nos. 1-:), this must have been situated to the west of a sandy desert that had to be crossed by the caravan merchants proceeding from Eastern India towards *aparānta*, a destination in the west. In the English 'adores' one can find the nearest approach to *vaṃdate*, which implies not only an act of salutation, but salutation with praise.] N

10. Cakavāko Nāgarājā. BT (181)

"Cakravāka, the Dragon-chief." Tr

{C. pp. 26, 133; PI. 24 (Pls. XXI, LIII). H. No. 42. L. No. 735.}

"Cakravāka adores the Buddha." E

11. Cadā Yakhi. BT

Caṃdā Yakhi[ni]. CT (182)

"Candrā, the Yakṣiṇī." Tr

{C. pp. 20, 138; PI. 81 (Pls. XXII, LV). H. No. 91. L. No. 793.}

[The Barhut sculpture represents *Candrā* as mounted on a horse-faced *makara* showing that it was her vehicle.] N

12. The Yakhini Sudasanā. BT (183)

"Yakṣiṇī Sudarśanā." Tr

{C. pp. 20, 137; PI. 78 (Pls. XXIII, LIV), H. No. 89, L. No. 790.}

[*Sudarśanā* is figured as a female of tall stature, standing probably on a rhinoceros-faced *makara*. The *Yakṣiṇis* are nowhere given a redeeming feature in Buddhist literature. As a matter of fact, the *Yakṣiṇis* as such are absent from the Brahmanic and the Jaina works. In most of the Buddhist stories, the *Yakṣiṇī* figures as the most revengeful metamorphosis of a co-wife who dies with a grim determination to devour the children of her rival. There are certain descriptions, such as those to be found in the Valāhassa-Jātaka and the Ceylonese Chronicles which resemble those of *Rākṣasis* in Brahmanic literature.] N

[1] *Catvāro mahānidhayo*: *Saṃkho Vārāṇasyām, Mithilāyām Padumo, Kaliṃgesu Piṃgalo Takṣvśilāyāṃ Elāpatro* [Mahāvastu III, p. 383]. Cf. Rockhill's Life of the Buddha, pp. 46, 244.

13. Culakokā Devatā. BT (184)
"The little hunter-goddess." Tr

{C. p. 132; PI.6 (Pls. XXIII, LIII). H. No. 26. L. No. 717.}

[The Barhut sculpture represents the goddess as a female figure of short stature, standing on an elephant and holding the branch of a tall tree to her left, which she embraces with her left hand and entwines with her left leg. If the tree had been a date-palm, as it may appear to be so, her name could be explained as denoting a goddess of the date-palm tree. In the Dhammapada-Commentary *Koka* occurs as the name of a hunter who used to hunt by setting dogs against the game (*see* Koka-Sunakha-Vatthu). If *Koka* could have been taken as an adjective of dogs, it would perhaps mean *koñka*—'crying' or 'bemoaning,' and the goddess might be associated with the habit of screaming at night. But seeing that *Koka* has been expressly used in the Dhammapada-Commentary as the name of the hunter, one might be led to surmise that *Koka* was an aboriginal tribe, whose tutelary deities were known after it as *Koka's*. Inscriptions have been found out at Dinajpur referring to temples dedicated to a tutelary god called *Kokāmukhasvāmī*. It would be a mistake to regard this deity as the husband of the goddess *Kokāmukhī*, who is no other than the Barhut *Kokā*. *Kokāmukhasvāmī* is just another name of the Boar Incarnation. In the Vessantara-Jātaka (F. VI, pp. 525-6) *Kokā* occurs as a synonym for *sunakhā*, and signifies watch-dogs or dogs used in hunting. This goes to prove that, whatever the description of the goddess, she is connected with hunting or hunter.] N

14. Mahakokā Devatā BT
Mahākokā Devatā. CT (185)
"The great hunter-goddess." Tr

{C. p. 139, PI. 98 (Pls. XX, LV). H. f. n. 27. L. No. 811.}

[*Mahākokā*, as her name implies, represents the general class of *Kokā* goddesses. She figures on the pillars of the Barhut Gateway found at Pataora and has no vehicle.] N

15. Sirimā Devatā. BT (186)

Cf. Dakṣiṇasyā diśobhāge Śrīyāmatī devakumārikā [1]
[Lalita-Vistara, Ch. XXIV].
Uttarasmin diśobhāge devakumārikā Śirī [2]
[Lalita-Vistara, Ch. XXIV].
Dakṣiṇasmiṃ diśobhāge devakumārī Śirīmatī [3]
[Mahāvastu III. p. 307].
Uttarasmiṃ diśobhāge devakumārī Śrī [4]
[Mahāvastu III. p. 309].
Siri-Devatā, Sirī Devī [Jātaka].

"Śrīmā—the goddess possessed of lucky grace." Tr

{C. pp. 22, 136; Pl. 59 (Pls. XXIII. 1, LIV). H. No. 304. L. No. 770.}

[*Sirimā* is the feminine form of *Sirima* or *Śrīmat*. Both the masculine and feminine forms occur among the names of donors of the Barhut railing. If *Sirimā* be the Prakrit counterpart of Sk. *Śrīmat*, its feminine form must be taken as an equivalent of *Śrīmatī*, and not of *Śrīmā*. We mean that *mā* is merely a suffix and not the member of a compound. *Mā* came to acquire a significance exactly equivalent to that of *Śrī* or *Lakṣmī* as is evident from *Mādhava*, 'the husband of *Mā*,' an epithet of *Viṣṇu*, and later of *Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu*, in the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas. This sense of identity between *Mā* and *Śrī* or *Lakṣmī* is maintained even in modern popular parlance. But the forms *Śrīmatī* and *Lakṣimatī* in the Lalita-Vistara and the Mahāvastu also prove that *mā* or *matī* was originally applied as a suffix. This use also survives in modern popular usage. *Śrīmatī* means one possessed of or endowed with beauty or lucky grace. It is quite possible that this twofold usage has been in vogue for a long time. The explanation of the confusion between *mā* as a suffix and *Mā* as an epithet denoting the goddess of Luck is partly philological and partly psychological. The confusion could not perhaps have taken place but for the Prakrit suffix *mā* which represents the stage of transition between

[1] *Śrīyāmatī Yaśamatī Yaśaḥprāpti. Yaśodharā.*

[2] *Āśā Śraddhā Hirī Śirī.*

[3] *Lakṣīmatī Śirīmatī Yaśamatī Yaśodharā.*

[4] *Āśā Śraddhā Hirī Śrī.* Cf. Fausböll's Jātaka, V, p. 398: *Catasso devakaññā catuddisaṃ aṭṭhaṃsu: Sirī pācīnadisāya, Āsā dakkhiṇadisāya, Saddhā pacchimadisāya, Hirī uttaradisāya. Ibid*, V. p. 392: *Sakkassa Āsā, Saddhā Sirī Hirîti catasso dhītaro.*

matī and *mā*. It may also be that *Sirimā* or *Śrīmā* is a word belonging to the same category as *aṇimā* and *laghimā*, all indicating abstractions, popularly known as attributes of the Divinity. In this case the suffix is not *mant* denoting possession but *iman* denoting state. If this supposition be correct, we can easily understand how *Sirimā*, like *Sirī* or *Śrī*, came to stand for an abstract conception and a concrete personality. The psychological explanation is that the idea of motherhood has always been associated with bountiful gifts, helping the preservation of life. The Buddhist literature, as is evident from the verses quoted above from the Lalita-Vistara and the Mahāvastu, presents us with *Śrīmatī* and *Śrī* as two distinct goddesses or as two distinct types of one and the same goddess. The Barhut sculptures offer us an artistic counterpart of the above. Amongst them we have representations of both *Sirimā* or *Śrīmatī* and *Sirī* or *Śrī*. The Buddhist texts, referred to above, represent *Śrīmatī* as peculiar to the south and *Śrī* as peculiar to the north. The Barhut representation of *Sirimā* or *Śrīmatī*, as shown by Prof. Rhys Davids, has a faithful correspondence in the modern iconography of South India, while the Barhut representation of *Śrī*, as a goddess seated with two elephants pouring water over her,[1] is the oldest instance of the most common representation of the goddess and figures of her, exactly in this form, can be bought to-day in the bazaars of Northern India (Buddhist India, pp. 217-221). Thus modern images of the goddess as found in the south and north of India corroborate the truth of Buddhist literary evidence. The Siri-Kālakaṇṇi-Jātaka (F. No. 382) describes *Sirī* as a *devadhītā*, and represents her as a daughter of *Dhataraṭṭha*, the guardian of the eastern quarter. Thus the Jātaka assigns *Sirī* or *Sirimā* to the east. The explanation perhaps is that the *Śrīmatī* type of the goddess of Luck was a local deity of the south and of the east beyond the ancient Aryandom. Further, it is apparent from the verses in the Lalita-Vistara and the Mahāvastu that *Śrīmatī* or *Sirimā* was just one of four varieties of the goddess prevalent in the south, the others being *Yaśaḥprāptā* or *Lakṣmīmatī*, *Yaśamatī* and *Yaśodharā*. Similarly we have in them *Śrī* (Graceful Beauty) represented as one of the four cognate goddesses, the rest being *Āśā* (Hope), *Śraddhā* (Faith), and *Hrī* or *Hirī* (Modesty). These with the exception of *āśā* and *Śrī* can be traced in the Bṛhad-Āraṇyaka Upaniṣad [2]; these with

[1]. *Padmasthā padmahastā ca ghaṭotkṣiptajalaplutā.*

[2]. Bṛhad-Āranyaka 1-5.3.

the exception of *āśā* can be traced in the Taittirīya Upaniṣad[1]; and these with the exception of *śrī* can be traced in the Pāli Abhidhamma books as mental qualities or abstract virtues. *Śrī* in the Śrī-Sūkta of the Ṛg-Veda is represented both as an abstract principle and a goddess. *Śraddhā* also signifies both an abstract principle and a goddess in the Śraddhā-hymn of the Ṛg-Veda. *Āśā* and *śraddhā* occur in a twofold sense also in the seventh chapter of the Chāndogya Upaniṣad. *Śrī* finds mention, as Prof. Rhys Davids points out, in the Taittirīya Upaniṣad (1.4), 'in mystic conjunction with the dread deities of the Moon, and the Sun, and Mother Earth.'[2] In a similar context of the *Sīlakkhandha*-section of the first thirteen Suttas of the Dīgha-Nikāya, we have an express allusion to the practice called *Sirivhāyana*, the invocation of *Sirī* or *Śrī*. It was evidently what the Buddhist would call a *Devadhārmika*, *Devapūjaka* or idolatrous Hindu practice. But from the elucidation of the expression by Buddhaghoṣa, it is rather doubtful whether *Śrī* is an abstract virtue or a concrete image, though both the ideas are there, the concrete predominating over the abstract. A similar conflict of the concrete and the abstract exists in the Buddhist treatment of *Śrī* in the Siri-Jātaka (F. No. 289). Prof. Rhys Davids thinks that *Śrī* or *Sirī* was already a popular deity in the Buddha's time, whom the priests, *i.e.*, the Brahmins, had been compelled to assign a place in their pantheon, and that on the strength of a special legend[3] invented to excuse their doing so.[4] The arguments advanced in support of this remark are that *Śrī*, the goddess of Luck, of plenty and success, is not mentioned in the Veda at all, and that even the cognate deities, *e.g.*, those of the Moon, and the Sun, and Mother Earth, though noticed in the Veda, are put far into the background compared with *Indra*, *Agni*, *Soma*, and *Varuṇa*.[5] "But it is highly probable," says Prof. Rhys Davids, "that they really occupied a very much larger share in the minds of the people of India than these sparse notices in the Veda would tend to show."[6] What Prof. Rhys Davids says is not the whole truth.

[1] Taittirīya 1.9.

[2] Buddhist India, p. 219.

[3] Sumaṅgala-Vilāsinī, Siamese Ed., I, p. 127, *Sirivhāyananti 'ehi Siri mayhaṃ sarīre patiṭṭhahāti evaṃ sarīrena siriyā avhāyanaṃ*. That is, the expression means the invocation of *Śrī* in the term of body with the formula: 'Come, O *Śrī*, and enshrine yourself in this body.

[4] Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa XI. 4.3.

[5] Buddhist India, pp. 217-218.

[6] *Ibid*, p. 219. Cf. Fausbölls V, p. 399: "*Sirāhaṃ devi manujesu pūjitā*

The name of *Śrī* as a personified principle of Beauty not only occurs in the Ṛg-Veda but a complete hymn, the famous Śrī-sūkta, is there found devoted to *Śrī*. Further, in the *Rayi* of the Ṛg-Veda we can trace the Aryan prototype of a goddess of the type of *Sirimā*. *Rayi*, as conceived in the Praśnopaniṣad (1.5) stands for the Sāṃkhya *Prakṛti* or phenomenality, manifested or unrecognised.[1] Here *Rayi* is a personified abstraction. We agree with Prof. Rhys Davids in thinking that there has been a constant tug of war between philosophy and popular belief, higher poetry and heathenism, throughout the whole course of Indian history. But the peculiarity is that neither of the conflicting parties is absolutely free from the influence of the other—the philosophy is inextricably mingled with idle popular notions, and with popular images there is implied a good deal of philosophical thinking, the concrete has always the touch of the abstract, just as the abstract has always the tendency to concretise or symbolise itself. Yet this grand distinction is always there that in the popular line the concrete has predominated over the abstract, while in the academic line the abstract has predominated over the concrete. The popular line in India, as perhaps in every other country, may be distinguished as Bhagavatic. The abstract conceptions suggested in the names of the deities of the Bhagavatic line, *e.g.*, *Śrīmatī* and *Yaśomatī* are precisely the attributes of Divinity recognised in literature, and these signify not quality but condition, *śrī* or *śrīmā* meaning *śrī*-hood, *yaśa* meaning *yaśa*-hood. We mean that in the popular or Bhagavatic line the process of abstraction does not directly involve the metaphysical conception of an abstract principle or reality but a mere mental representation of a larger grouping of concrete associations, and that in the Vedic or academic line the process of abstraction involves the conception of a metaphysical principle or reality which cannot concretise itself in the tangible shape of images except through a poetic personification. The Jātaka mythology distinguishes between the Vedic *Śrī* and the popular one by representing the former as a daughter of Śakra or Indra and the latter as the daughter of Dhṛtarāṣṭra, the guardian angel. But of the three cognate qualities *Āśā*, *Śraddhā* and *Hrī* associated in the academic line with *Śrī*. none has been represented in the form of an image for worship, in spite of the fact that from the time of the Veda the process of personification, sufficiently strong in the verses of the Lalita-Vistara and the Mahāvastu, was in vogue.[2] The total exclusion of *Śrī* even

[1] Barua's History of Pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy, p. 229; *Sarvaṃ mūrtañ ca amūrtañ ca tasmān mūrtir eva Rayiḥ*.

[2] It is rather surprising that there should be no image of three goddesses despite the vivid description of their characteristics given in the Sudhābhojana-Jātaka (F. No. 525).

as a mental quality from the Abhidhamma books of the Buddhists is to be sought in the fact of its being in constant association with popular idolatry. This explanation is emphasised by the absence of *Śrī*, *Śrīmatī* and other cognate goddesses from Pâli counterparts of the verses of the Lalita-Vistara and the Mahāvastu, we mean, in the Āṭānāṭiya-Suttanta of the Dīgha-Nikāya. The Siri-Kālakaṇṇi-Jātaka contains good Buddhist reasons for rejecting the goddess or the quality associated with her. In the Sudhābhojana-Jātaka, too, one can find that *Srī* is pushed far into the background.] N

F. Miscellaneous.

1. Pacasana. BT
Paṃcâsanaṃ. CT (187)
"The five seats." Tr

{C. P. 142 ; FI. 17 (PL. LVI). L. No. 900.}

"The label perhaps refers to a scene of the five spots in Uruvilva, where the Buddha stayed five weeks, one week on each spot, after the attainment of Buddhahood." E

2. [Ba]huhathika-āsana[ṃ] [Bhaga]vato
Mahādevasa. BT (188)
"The Bahuhastika seat of the Mighty Divine Lord" Tr

{C. p. 143 ; FI. 19 (Pl. LVI). L. No. 902.}

"The label seems to refer to a seat of the Buddha honoured and frequented by many elephants." E

[*Bahuhathika* cannot here be taken to mean something bearing the imprints of a number of hands, as suggested by Cunningham. There is another Jātaka-Label in which the expression *bahuhathika* characterises a scene of *Nigodha-Naḍoda*. In this scene, the expression *bahuhathika* is evidently intended to mean something conspicuous by the presence of a number of elephants. This is the second Jātaka-Label in which *Mahādeva* is used as a distinctive epithet of the Buddha.] N

G. Jātaka labels relating to episodes of the *Dūre*-section of Gautama's life.

1. Maghādeviya-Jātaka[ṃ].[1] BT (198)

[1]. Hoernle very rightly suggests that the full text is *Maghādeviyaṃ Jātakaṃ*. But grammatical correctness does not surely justify his reading *Maghādeviyaṃ*. There is really no sign for *ṃ* after '*ya*.' The Niddesa heading Maghādeviya-Suttanto is naively ungrammatical, but still we have it there.

Cf. Makhādeva-Suttaṃ [Majjhima, Sutta No. 83].
Maghādeviya-Suttanto [Culla-Niddesa, p. 80].
Makhādeva-Jātakaṃ [F. No. 9].

"The story about the Bodhisat's birth as Mahādeva." Tr

{C. pp. 79, 130; CI. 8 (Pls. VIII. 2, LIII). Ho. No. 5. H. No. 3. L. No. 691.}

"A brilliant example of renunciation set by the Bodhisat while he was born as king Mahādeva at his first perception of the fact of his old age on his being shown a grey hair plucked from his head by his hair-dresser." E

[It is apparent from the parallel texts quoted from Buddhist literature that the name of the Bodhisat referred to in the label was written by the Buddhists both Makhādeva and Maghādeva, the latter spelling being met with nowhere else but the Culla-Niddesa or its Commentary. What is most noteworthy here is that the Niddesa reading *Maghādeviya* is precisely the same as *Maghādeviya* of the label. The Niddesa text clearly refers to the Jātaka in its *Sutta* or *Suttanta* form, *i.e*, to one like the story of *Makhādeva* or *Maghādeva*, the hero eponymos of *Videha*, as we find it in the *Makhādeva-Sutta* of the Majjhima-Nikāya. [1] It goes without saying that the Pâli texts preserve in *Makhādeva* and *Maghādeva* two Prakrit forms of Sk and Pâli *Mahādeva*. [2] One need not be surprised that the phonetic changes of *h* into *gh* and of *gh* into *kh* were peculiar to the dialects of *Videha*, in view of the fact that the name of the king of *Videha* is written *Māthava Videgha* in the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa instead of the Sk. or Pâli *Madhāva Videha*. In the instance just cited from the Brāhmaṇa we at once notice the change of *h* into *gh*, as well as of a sonant spirant *dh* into the surd spirant *th*. The change of *h* into *gh* was probably a common characteristic of dialects spoken over a much wider linguistic area as is evident from the occurrence of the form *Lāghulovāde* in Aśoka's Bhabru Edict instead of Pâli *Rāhulovādo*. That is to say, the change of *h* into *kh* through an intervocal change of *h* into *gh* was confined to the dialects of *Videha* and of countries lying to the east of it. Even to-day

[1] List of Suttanta-Jātakas in the Buddhist India, p. 195.
[2] The name is written *Mahādeva* in the Mahāvyutpatti.

the people of Bakharganj District use the form *Makhādeva* when they try to correctly pronounce *Mahādeva*. Supposing that *Māthava Videgha* or *Mādhava Videha* of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa is the same person as *Makhādeva*, *Maghādeva* or *Màhādeva* of Buddhist texts it requires to be ascertained whether the form *Mādhava* considered as a personal name resulted from a curious and apparently inexplicable vocal contraction of *Mahādeva* or *vice versa*. The Mahābhārata is the oldest Indian text in which *Mādhava* occurs as a personal epithet of Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa with a fantastic etymology—'one who is the *dhara* or husband of *Mā* or *Lakṣmī*'. This etymology seems to have been invented at a much later age when *Mādhava* was permanently recognised as an epithet of Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa's and needed a plausible grammatical explanation. Failing to derive it as a patronymic of *Madhu*, as there was no ancestor of Kṛṣṇa's of the same name, the grammarians sought to explain it by an ingenuous invention. It seems that in all earlier literary usages, the words either derived from or compounded with *madhu* in the sense of honey denoted honey-scented plants or honey-sucking insects. One may bear in mind that the vocal contraction whereby *Mahādeva* is converted into *Mādhava* is not altogether unknown in modern Indian dialects. Strangely enough, the *Marāṭhi*-speaking peoples pronounce *Mahāḍeb* as *Mādhab*, e.g., *Mahādeb Rao* = *Mādhab Rao*.] N

2. Isi-migo jataka. BT

Isi-miga-jātakaṃ. CT (190)

Cf. Nigrodha-miga-Jātakaṃ [F. No. 12].

"The story of the Bodhisat's birth as the sage-like saintly deer." Tr

{C. pp. 75, 131; CI. 9 (Pls. XLIII, 2; LIII). H. No. 10. L. No. 698.}

"The story in which the Bodhisat born as deer acted most wisely by setting mercy above law without violating the latter and setting the best example of self-sacrifice." E

3. ..... niya Jātaka. BT

..... nīya-Jātakaṃ. CT

Bhojâjānīya-Jātakaṃ. (?) FT (191)

"The story of the Bodhisat's birth as a thoroughbred horse."

{C. p. 143; FI. 14 (Pl. LVI). L. No. 897.}

"The episode of the Bodhisat's desperate effort to fight to the finish during his birth as a high-mettled Sindh horse of noble breed." E

[The label unmistakably records the name of a Jātaka, though of which Jātaka it is difficult to determine. It was found by Cunningham in fragments. In the absence of the original we are to be content with his eye-copy and reading. His reading indicates that three letters, and presumably three syllables, are missing. It would not perhaps have been much difficult to supply the missing letters and syllables, if the context, *i.e.*, the bas-relief to which the label was attached, could be examined. In suggesting the above restoration we have to resort to a twofold hypothesis: (i) that the label has correspondence with the Pâli title of the Bhojâjânîya-Jātaka (F. No. 24), and (ii) that it was connected with a Coping bas-relief of which just a small fraction now remains showing the forepart of a horse in harness (C. Pl. XLV.1).] N

4. Haṃsa-Jātaka. BT
Haṃsa-Jātakaṃ. CT (192)

Cf. Nacca-Jātakaṃ [F. No. 32].

"The story of the Bodhisat's birth as mallard." Tr

{C. pp. 69, 131; CI. 11 (Pls. XXVII. 11; LIII). H. No. 158. L. No. 700—reads *Jataka*.}

"The Birth-story in which the wise swan is selected as bridegroom and the handsome peacock is rejected for his shameless dancing." E

5. Yaṃ bram(h)ano avayesi Jātakaṃ. BT
Yaṃ brāhmaṇo avāyesi Jātakaṃ. CT(193)

Cf. Aṇḍabhūta-Jātakaṃ with the verse *Yaṃ brāhmaṇo avādesi* [F. No. 62].

"The Birth-story (with the verse)—As the Brahmin played)." Tr

{C. p. 139; PI. 97 (Pls. XXVI. 8.; LV). H. No. 157. L. No. 810.}

"The Birth-story in which the Bodhisat then born as a king convinced his Brahmin Purohita of the natural depravity of woman's character by reminding him of a practical joke caused to be practised on him by his wife brought up in strict seclusion from her very birth." E

[*Yaṃ* as used in the label is an adverbial expression meaning '*when*.' Though in the actual writing *h* is written after *m* in *bramhaṇe*, it is doubtful if in the actual pronunciation this was treated as a case of metathesis. But without assuming such a metathesis, it is difficult to account for the form *baṃbhaṇa* met with in the dialects of some of Aśoka's Edicts.[1] *Arādesi* is a monumental Prakrit counterpart of the Pâli *arādesi*, from √*rād* (to play on a musical instrument). The expression *arādesi* is quite appropriate and indispensable in a verse relating to *vīṇā*, which is a stringed instrument.] N

6. Citupādasila. BT

Citupāḍasīlaṃ. CT (194)

Citupādasīlā. CT (194)

"The habitual playing of the square-board game." Tr

"The gamblers devoted to the square-board game." Tr

{C. pp. 94, 131; CI. 21 (Pls. XLV. 9, LIII. 21)—translates '*the splitting of the rock*,' *citta sila* = *split rock*. Ho No. 3—translates '*the rock with the gaming board, devotion to the gaming board, the practice of gaming*,' and suggests that the vowal *i* for *a* is either a clerical error or a naive provincialism, cf. modern Hindi *cium* = *on all four sides*: *citupāda* = *catuppāda* = *four-sided, i.e., 'four-sided draught-board*,' or *citrapāda* = *a playing board divided into various parts*, cf. such popular expressions for a playing board as *caupat, causar, caupar*. *Citrapāda* is the name of a Sk. metre consisting of four lines of 23 syllables each: *sila* is either *silā* = *rock*, or *sīlaṃ* = *practice, habit*. The label refers perhaps to the Bodhisat's birth as a gambler. H. No. 21 and L. No. 710—*citupādasila* = *citra utpāta yatra sā silā*, '*the rock where miraculous portents happen*.'}

[1] Cf. RI, No. 3.

"The label seems to refer to a scene of the Litta-Jātaka (F. No. 91)." E

[The disputed point in the interpretation of the label is whether *citupādasila* is a compound like *manosilā* which is the name of a Himalayan mountain or it is similar to *keḷisīla* which means *the sportful*. If *sila* be *silā* meaning *rock*, *citupāda* must be equated with the Pâli *cittûppāda*, *thought-generating*, *thought-reading*, or *citruppāda*, *picture-producing*, *variegated*. In Buddhist literature there is a play upon the word *citta* in such an expession as *cittaṃ cittato va cittataro*, *'mind is even more variegated or picturesque than a picture.'* The alternative rendering and explanation suggested by Höernle is quite welcome.] N

7. Asaḍā vadhu susāne sigāla ñati. BT
Asāḍā vadhu susāne sigālā ñāti. CT (1 5)

"The woman Āṣāḍhā, the jackals in a funeral ground, (her) kinsman." Tr

{C. p. 130; CI. 8 (Pls. XLVII. 9, LIII. 8)—the inscription alludes to the young girl and the jackals in a cemetery H. No. 9 and L. No. 697—translate *the woman Āṣāḍhā who has observed the jackals on the cemetery*, here *sigālā* standing perhaps for *sigāle* (Acc. Pl.) and *ñati* being the Sk. *jñātṛ*, from $\sqrt{jñā}$ (*to know*).}

"The label may perhaps be taken to refer to a scene of a Jātaka-episode similar to one in the Asilakkhaṇa-Jātaka (F. No. 126)." E

[There can be little doubt that *Asaḍā* = *Āṣāḍhā*, a name which is derived from a famous constellation of stars, and may be taken to mean *the buxom*. *Susāna*, Sk. *śmaśāna* is literally the *corpses' lying-in ground*, a field or enclosure where dead bodies are thrown away, buried, exposed or cremated. Here it represents *the jackal-haunted charnel-field, where dead bodies were left unburnt* (Pâli *sivathikā*, *āmakasusāna* and Vedic *anagnidagdhacitā*, see Vedic Index, *sub voce* śmaśāna). *Ñati* does not appear to be a verbal expression like *aññāti*, *jānāti* meaning *knows*, *recognises*. It equates better with the Pâli *ñāti*, Sk. *jñāti* meaning *kinsman, relative*.] N

8. Secha-Jātaka[ṃ]. BT (196)

Cf. Dubhiyamakkaṭa-Jātakaṃ [F. No. 174].

"A Jātaka-episode of water-drawing." Tr

{C. pp. 76, 131; CI. 15 (Pls. XLVI. 8, LIII. 15). Ho. No. 4. H. No. 15. L. No. 704—*secha*=*sekha* or *śaikṣa*.}

"The Birth-story in which the Bodhisat then born as a Brahmin drew water for a thirsty monkey and got for his pains nothing but grimace and ingratitude." E

[*Secha* is not= Pâli *sekha* or *sekkha* but *siñca, seca*.] N

9. Asavārikāsa dānaṃ.[1] BT (197)

"The gift of a scene of the trooper." Tr

"The label refers to a scene of the Valāhassa-Jātaka (F. No. 136), where a compassionate flying horse is seen volunteering to convey certain merchants out of a goblin-city." E

10. Dighatapasi sise anusāsati. BT (198)

"The venerable ascetic trains his pupils." TR

{C. p. 130; CI. 3 (Pls. XLVIII. 4, LIII. 3)—*Digha-tapas*=a man of long penance, *i.e.*, a great ascetic, the reference perhaps being to the Jaina ascetic *Digha-tapassi*, mentioned in the Buddhist Upāli-Sutta; *isise*= female *Ṛṣis*, being the female disciples of *Dirghatapas*. H. No. 4. L. No. 692.}

"The label seems to refer to a scene of the story of the Mūlapariyāya-Jātaka (F. No. 245)." E

[Here *Dighatapassi* is a personal epithet rather than a name, while in the case of the *Nirgrantha Dīghatapassī* mentioned in the Upāli-Sutta of the Majjhima-Nikāya it is a personal epithet used as a proper name, precisely like *Keśī* of the Jaina Uttarâdhyayana-Sūtra. The person referred to in the label has nothing to do with the Jaina recluse *Dīghatapassī*. He seems to belong to the *Tāpasa* or hermit order. The adjective *digha*

[1] Extracted from the Votive Label (15).

implies seniority by age as well as by wisdom and experience; a hermit of long standing, *i.e.*, of long experience. As regards *sise*, we have nothing to add to Hoernle's comments. The verbal expression *anusāsati* carries with it more the idea of admonition than that of simple instruction, *ovādana* and *anusāsana* representing two aspects of *śikṣā* or training, cf. the Pâli *ovādeyya anusāseyya*.] N

11. Nāga-Jātaka. BT
Nāga-Jātakaṃ. CT (199)

Cf. Kakkaṭa-Jātakaṃ [F. No. 266].

"The story of the Bodhisat's birth as an elephant." TR

{C. pp. 52, 132; PI. 13 (Pls. XXV. 2, LIII. 13). H. No. 32. L. No. 724.}

"The Bodhisat's marvellous feat of courage, skill and wisdom in destroying a monster crab during his elephant-birth." E

12. Miga-samadakaṃ cetaya. BT
Miga-saṃmadakaṃ cetiyaṃ. CT (200)
Miga-samadakaṃ cetiyaṃ. CT (200)

"The woodland shrine on an animal feeding-ground where the deer were molested." TR

"The caitya on an animal feeding-ground." TR
"The caitya on a grazing ground of the deer." TR
"The caitya where the deer were devoured." TR

{C. pp. 94, 131; CI. 10 (Pls. XLIII. 4, LIII. 10)—reads *samādaka, samadika, cetiya*, and translates "*Deer and Lions eating together cetiya*." Ho. No. 1—translates '*the deer-crushing caitya*.' H. No. 11 and L. No. 699—translate '*the caitya which gladdens the antelopes*,' *samadaka* being = *sammodaka*.}

"The label refers to a scene of the Vyaggha-Jātaka (F. No. 273)." E

[*"Miga-samadakaṃ = yattha, yasmiṃ vanasaṇḍe sīha-vyagghā nānāppakāre mige vadhitvā khādanti"* (Vyaggha-Jātaka): "The woodland where the

lions and tigers, or better, the tigers (acc. to original Jātaka), killed the deer for food.] N

13. Dusito giri dadati na. BT (201)
Dukhito giri[ṃ] dadā[ṃ]ti na. BT (201)

Ayaṃ mam' antare dusseyyâ ti ;
Succajaṃ vata naccaji vācāya adadaṃ giriṃ,
Kiṃ hi tass' acajantassa vācāya adada pabbatan ti ;
Tumhākaṃ dukkhitakāle araññe samānasukhadukkhī [Succaja-Jātaka, F. No. 320].

"The would-be rogue does not offer the hill." TR

"He did not offer the mountain to one who was afflicted when he was afflicted." TR

{C. p. 131 ; PI. 22, Frag. I. 18 (Pls. LIII. 22, Frag. 18). L. Nos. 711, 901—translates '*Dusita gives mount (Vaḍoda)*' with a query after it.}

"The label seems to refer to a scene of the Succaja-Jātaka." E

[The first word which appears in C's eye-copy to be *dusito*, might perhaps be read also as *dukhito*, the Brāhmī letters for *s* and *kh* being in many respects similar. If the reading be *dusito*, it can be equated with the Pâli *dusseyya*, cf. *Gaṃgita= Gaṃgeyya*. If this equation be allowed, the word might be taken to mean '*the crown prince who was sent into exile in fear that he might offend his father.*' If the word be *dukhito*, it might be taken to be a substantive in both Nominative and Accusative forms, meaning '*the good queen who shared the joys and sorrows of the crown prince when his condition was miserable.*' *Dada na*=Pâli expression *adada* or *adadaṃ*.] N

14. Kaḍariki. BT
Kaṃḍari-Ki[narā]. FT (202)

Cf. Kaṇḍari-Jātakaṃ [F. No. 341].
Kaṇḍari Kinnarā [F. Vol. V, pp. 437-438].

"[A Jātaka-episode of] Kaṇḍari and Kinnarā." Tr

{C. p. 134; PI. 37 (Pls. XIV. 2, LIV. 37). Ho. No. 18. H. No. 55. L. No. 768.}

"The episode of king Kaṇḍari's discovery of his favourite queen Kinnarā's misconduct and ultimate discovery of the general depravity of woman's nature by the wise suggestions of Pañcālacaṇḍa, his spiritual and temporal adviser." E

15. Sujato-gahuto-Jataka. BT
Sujāto-gohuto-Jātakaṃ. CT (203)

Cf. Sujāta-Jātakaṃ [F. No. 352],

"The Birth-story where Sujāta is cow-feeder." TR

{C. pp. 77, 130; CI. 5 (Pls. XLVII. 3, LIII. 5)—*gahuto=the bull-inviter.* H. No. 6—*gahuto=gṛhītaḥ, caught, seized, surprised* or *understood.* L. No. 694—*gahuto* means *mad.*}

"The Bodhisat admonishes his father by feeding a dead cow that mourning does not bring the dead back into life." E

[*Gohuto* is a compound similar to Sk. *gobhṛt* or Pâli *gobhato, gobhatako* meaning a cow-server or cow-feeder. Cunningham's interpretation *gahuto=cow-inviter* is quite reasonable. The interpretation suggested by Hultzsch and Lüders *gahuto*=Sk. *gṛhītaḥ* is ingenuous but far-fetched and unconvincing.] N

16. Naḍodapāde dhenachako. BT (204)

Cf. (Gaṅgātīre mahā nigrodharukkho) dhonasākho [F. Vol. III, pp. 157-158].

Dhonasākho'ti patthaṭasākho [F. Vol. III, p. 159].

"The trim-boughed (Banian-tree) at the foot of Mt. Naḍoda." (?) TR

{C. p. 137; PI. 70, 79 (Pl. LIV)—reads *dodapāpechena charo Naḍoda; pāde chena chako.* H. f. n. No. 43. L. Nos. 781, 791—reads *dhenachaka.*}

"The label appears to have referred to a scene of the Dhonasākha-Jātaka (F. No. 353)." E

[It is clear from the parallel quoted from the Jātaka that the expression *Naḍodapāde dhenachako* or *dhonasākho* corresponds to *nigodho Naḍode* (*passim*).] N

17. Daḍanikamo cakama. BT
Daḍanikamo caṃkamo. CT (205)

Cf. Daḷhanikkamo [Sutta-Nipāta, v. 68].

Daḷho nikkamo assâti daḷhanikkamo [Sutta-Nipāta-Comy on the Sutta No. 2].

"The walk wherefrom the egress is difficult." TR

{C. pp. 94, 130; CI. 7 (Pls. XLVII. 7, LIII. 7)—reads *dadani-kamo*, renders '*Punishment of works Region*': *cakama* or *cakra*='*the place*'; *daḍani*=*daṇḍani*, '*of punishing*'; *kamo*=*karma*, *works*—'*the place of punishment, or Hell,*' which is a division of the kosmos in which works receive their reward. H. No. 8. L. No. 696.}

"The label distinctly records a scene of the Uraga-Jātaka (F. No. 354)." E

[As for *daḍa*=*daḷha* or *dṛḍha*, cf. *Viruḍaka*=*Virūḷha* or *Virūḍhaka*. The equation of *daḍa* with *daṇḍa*, as postulated by C, H and L can apparently be corroborated by the Barhut *Anāḍhapeḍika*=*Anāthapiṇḍika*. But here the loss of *ṃ* is compensated by the change of the preceding vowel *i* into *e*.] N

18. Laṭuvā-Jātaka. BT
Laṭuvā-Jātakaṃ. CT (206)

Cf. Laṭukikā-Jātakaṃ [F. No. 357].

"The story of the Bodhisat's birth as Laṭuvā quail." TR

{C. pp. 58, 139; RI. 11 (Pls. XXVI. 1, LV). H. No. 109. L. No. 825.}

"The Jātaka-episode in which a quail of Laṭukikā species managed to kill a thoughtless elephant arrogantly trampling down its young ones." E

19. Biḍala-Jatara Kukuṭa-Jātaka. BT
Biḍāla-Jātakaṃ-Kukuṭa-Jātakaṃ. CT (207)
Biḍāla-kukuṭa-Jātakaṃ. CT (207)

Cf. Kukkuṭa-Jātakaṃ [No. 383].

"The cat and the cock in a Birth-story." Tr

{C. p. 130; CI. 6 (Pls. XLVII. 5, LIII. 6)—translates 'the Cat Birth,' 'the Cock Birth.' H. No. 7. L. No. 695.}

"The Birth-story in which the wise cock avoids the cat." E

[*Biḍala* or *biḍāla* is much more Sanskritic phonetically than the Pâli *biḷāra*. The repetition of the word *jātaka* in the label is well explained by Lüders' suggestion that the Birth-story is intended by the sculptor to be designated either *Biḍāla-Jātaka* or *Kukuṭa-jātaka*.] N

20. Uda-Jātaka[ṃ]. BT (208)

Cf. Dabbhapuppha-Jātakaṃ [F. No. 400].

"A Jātaka-episode of otters." Tr

{C. pp. 75, 131; CI. 14 (Pls. XLVI. 2, LIII)—translates-*the Water Birth*. H. No. 14. L. No. 703.}

"The Jātaka-episode in which two otters are hoodwinked by a jackal as a result of asking and allowing the latter to equitably apportion their shares of a red fish killed by them."

[*Uda* = Pâli *udda*, E. Bengal *ud* or *ut*, W. Bengal *bhodar*, English *otter*], N

21. Vijapi Vijadharo. BT
Vijapi Vijādharo. CT (209)
Vijāpi Vijādharo. CT (209)

Cf. Vijjādharā bahumāyā [F. Vol. III, p. 529].
Vijjādharo...vijjaṃ parivattetvā [F. Vol. III, pp. 303-304].
Vijjādharo vijjaṃ parijapitvā [F. Vol. III, p. 530].
Vijjādharo sannaddhakhaggo [F. Vol. III, p. 528].

"A Jātaka-episode of a spell-muttering Vidyādhara." Tr

{C. p. 134; PI. 38 (Pls. XV. Side, LIV). Ho. No. 21—translates-*the Vidyādhara unravelling* (*or unwinding his dress*), *the Vidyādhara and*

his queen Vijalpi (or Vijalpikā). H. No. 56—*vijapi=vidyāvin.* L. No. 749—*vijapi=vijāyin.*}

"The Jātaka-episode as in the Samugga-Jātaka (F. No. 436), of a Vidyādhara's love with a lovely damsel in a Dānava's keep and his safety by virtue of his spells and weapon." E

[*Vijapi* is either *vijappi* or *vijalpi* meaning mutterer, or *viijāvi* or *vidyāvin* meaning one possessed of knowledge. *Vijalpa* is the name of a malevolent spirit (Petersberg's Dict.) Here *vijjā* or *vidyā* means *mantra* (charms) and other black arts. The *Vidyādharas* are said to be a kind of semihuman beings, possessing the knowledge of magic arts, and resident in the Himālaya mountains (Ho). In the Dhajavihetha-Jātaka (F. No. 391) the *vidyādhara* is described as a being given by night to dalliance and seduction, and accustomed to perform by day penances by way of atonement in a cremation ground, standing on one leg while saluting the sun. In the Samugga-Jātaka, he is also said to be capable of flying through the air by the power of his spells, being armed with a sword=(*khaḍga*). The Vāyu-Purāṇa Ch. LXIX enumerates three original *gaṇas* of *vidyādharas*: the *Śaiveya*, the *Vikrānta* and the *Saumanasa*, all descended from *Visravas*, their common ancestor. These three *gaṇas* gave afterwards rise to several *gaṇas* of *vidyādharas* of the *Vyomacāri* class. Altogether one hundred *gaṇas* are said to have been famous in the world.] N

22. Abode cātiyaṃ. BT(210)
"At the watering trough." Tr

{C. pp. 94, 130; CI. 4 (Pls. XLVII. 6, LIII)—translates-"*the mango-tree caitya.*" Ho. No. 7—*cātiyaṃ* is a mere mason's error for *cetiyaṃ*; *Abode* is a Loc. Sing. of *Abboda, Abbuda*, or Sk. *Arbuda*, the name of the holy mount *Abu*, where, acc. to Col. Tod, the mango is abundant. H. No. 5 and L. No. 693—translate, following Ho, *the caitya on mount Arbuda.*}

"The label evidently records a scene of the Mātiposaka-Jātaka (F. No. 455)." E

[The whole construction is apparently in Locative. If *cātiyaṃ* be regarded as a mere clerical mistake or mason's error for *cetiyaṃ*, the Locative construction becomes untenable, and the Nominative construction, too, becomes inconsistent, unless *abode* or *aṃbode* be construed as an

instance of Māgadhism, *i.e.*, as a Nominative Singular form with the case-ending *e*. The construction is analogous to *Naḍode pavate*, which is definitely a Locative expression. *Cātiyaṃ* is not a mistake for *cetiyaṃ* but the Locative Singular of *cāti*, Pâli *cāṭi*, meaning a water-receptacle or trough. The interpretation of *aboda* or *aṃboda* as 'water-supplying' is corroborated by the water-line of the sculpture, lying just below the tree which looks like a *caitya*."] N

23. Kiṃnara-Jātakaṃ. BT (211)

Cf. Takkāriya-Jātakaṃ [F. No. 481].

"A Jātaka-episode of the Kinnaras." Tr

{C. pp. 69, 131; CI. 12 (Pls. XXVII. 12, LIII). H. No. 12. L. No. 701.}

"This label is attached to a scene which corresponds to the episode of the Kinnaras in the Takkāriya-Jātaka." E

[The *Kinnaras* are represented in the Jātaka and Avadāna stories as a kind of beings with a human form, who are very sportful, tender-hearted, bashful and nervous. They are said to be dwellers of the Himalayan mountains, and noted for their conjugal love and fidelity. They are classed among the animals (*tiracchāna-gatā* or *migā*), fit to be shut up in a cage, in spite of the fact that they could talk like human beings.[1] The Vāyu-Purāṇa traces the descent of the *Kinnaras* from *Vikrānta*, a powerful *Gandharva* king and broadly classes them as Horse-faced (*Aśvamukha*) and Human-faced (*Naramukha*), opining that the latter class is superior to the former one. The *Kinnaras* of the latter class are said to belong to the Lunar race (*Candravaṃśīya*). The Purāṇa enumerates some *gaṇas* or clans under each class.[2] The *Kinnaras* are described as experts in the art of dancing and singing]. N

24. Miga-Jātakaṃ. BT (212)

Cf. Ruru-Jātakaṃ [F. No. 482].

"The story of the Bodhisat's birth as a deer." Tr

[1] Fausböll Jātaka, IV, p. 252; IV, p. 442.

[2] Vāyu-Purāṇa, LXIX. 31-37.

{C. pp. 51, 133; PI. 19 (Pls. XXV. 1, LIII). H. No. 37. L. No. 730.}

"The Birth-story in which the Bodhisat then born as a deer saved himself and others of his race by virtue of a boon of safety granted by a king, and thereby frustrated the aim of a rich spend-all, whose life was once saved by him and who in return of this persuaded the king to kill him." E

25. Bhisaharaniya-Jātaka[ṃ]. BT (213)

Cf. Bhisa-Jātakaṃ [F. No. 488].

"A Jātaka-episode of lotus-fibre-stealing." Tr

{C. pp. 79, 131; CI. 17; (Pls. XLVIII. 7, LIII). H. No. 17. L. No. 706.}

"The Birth-story in which Śakra tested the virtue of the Bodhisat then born as Mahākāñcana Kumāra and his brothers and others by puzzling them by stealing the Bodhisat's share of the lotus-fibres." E

[The above title of the Jātaka, like *Maghādeviya*, is ungrammatical. The correct form would be *Bhisaharaṇa*.] N

26. (*a*) Bahuhathiko. BT (214)
(*b*) Bahuhathiko nigodho Naḍode. BT (215)
(*c*) Susupālo koḍāyo Veḍuko arāmako. BT
(*d*) Susupālo koḍāyo Veḍuko ārāmiko.[1] CT (216)

(a) "Bahuhastika—characterised by the presence of a number of elephants." Tr

(b) "The banian tree on (Mt.) Naḍoda, having a number of elephants worshipping it." Tr

(c) "Sisupāla, the fort-keeper. Veṇuka, the gardener." Tr

{C. pp. 45, 115, 135; PI. 43-45 (Pls. XV. Inner Face, XXX. 2, LIV), L. Nos. 754-756.}

[1] Cf. *Kālo rājabhrātā Rambhako ārāmikaḥ*. Divyâvadāna, p. 160.

"The labels may be taken to refer to the scene of a definite story, similar perhaps to one in the Mahāvānija-Jātaka (F. No. 493), in which Śiśupāla, the fort-keeper, was led by Veṇuka, the gardener, to a Banian Caitya on Mt. Naḍoda, worshipped by a herd of elephants." E

[*Koḍāya* or *Koḍya* may be = *Koḍr-rāja* or *koṭṭarāja*, the ruler of a fort or fortified place. *Koḍya* occurs in the Lalita-Vistara (Ch. XV) as the name of a country and that of a people, cf. Pâli Koliya: "atikramya Śākyān, atikramya Koḍyān."] N

27. Chadaṃtiya-Jātakaṃ. BT (217)

Cf. Chaddanta-Jātakaṃ [F. No. 514].

"The story about the Bodhisat's birth as six-tusked (elephant)." Tr

{C. pp. 61 f., 837; Pl. 74 (Pls. XXVI. 6, LIV). H. No. 85. L. No. 785.}

"The Birth-story in which a queen brought death on herself as a result of her relentless vengeance on an elephant with six tusks, her wise husband in a previous birth." E

[*Chadaṃta* = *Ṣaḍdanta*, a hybrid form, the *Ákulika* class of elephants. The *Ṣaḍdantas* are characterised by their elongated lower lips, charming looks, black colour, handsomeness, august shape and broad face.] N

28. Isisiṃgiya Jātaka[ṃ]. BT (218)

Cf. Ṛṣyaśṛṅga-Upākhyānam [Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata]. Ekaśṛṅgâvadānam [Avadānakalpalatā].

"The story regarding the Bodhisat's birth as Ṛṣyaśṛṅga—the Horned Sage." Tr

{C. pp. 64; (Pl. XXVI-7). H. No. 156. L. No. 802.}

[1] Vāyu-Purāṇa, LXIX, Verse 222: lambôṣṭhaś cārudarśinah
Śyāmaḥ sudarśanaś caṇḍânanāpiḍâyatânanāḥ.

"The Birth-story in which the Bodhisat is represented as a horned sage, born of a doe, who proved himself to be a true hero by thwarting the efforts of an artful princess who came to tempt and seduce him." E

[Cunningham has very rightly pointed out that the title of the Birth-story as given in the Barhut label is unknown in Ceylon. In the Pâli Jātaka-Commentary, the Birth-story has been inopportunely split up into two portions, each bearing the title of a separate Jātaka, *viz.*, Alambusā-Jātaka (F. No. 523) and Nalinikā-Jātaka (F. No. 526). The Lokottaravāda version of the second portion—the Nalinikā-story, is to be found in the Mahāvastu as well as in Nalinikâvadāna of the Avadāna-kalpalatā. The curious legend about the birth of the Bodhisat seems to have resulted from a fantastic interpretation of his name *Isisiṃga*, Sanskritised apparently in accordance with the popular fantasy as *Ṛṣyaśṛṅga*, the Horned Sage, or as *Ekaśṛṅga*, the One-horned. *Isisiṃga* was probably an epithet signifying the high position of its bearer among the *Ṛṣis*, the towering figure among the sages]. N

29. Usu [kāro] Janako rāja Sivala devi. BT
Usukāro Janako rājā Sivalā devī. CT (219)
"The arrow-maker. King Janaka. Queen Sīvalī." Tr

{C. pp. 95, 131; CI. 20 (Pls. XLIV. 2, LIII). Ho. No. 2. H. No. 20. JRAS, 1912, p. 405 ; ZDMG. 40, p. 60. L. No. 709.}

"The Jātaka-episode, like one in the Mahājanaka-Jātaka (F. No. 539), in which the Bodhisat born as King Mahā-janaka derived a grand moral truth from an arrow-maker's habit of looking with one eye and closing the other while straightening an arrow in presence of Queen Sīvalī who followed him with a view to preventing him from becoming an ascetic." E

30. Vitura-Punakiya-Jātakaṃ. BT (220)

Cf. Vidhura-Paṇḍita-Jātakaṃ [F. No. 545].

"The Jātaka-episode about Vidūra and Pūrṇaka." Tr

{C. pp. 79, 173; PI. 75 (Pls. XVIII. 2, LIV)—also reads *Punakaya*. Ho. No. 86. H. No. 86. L. No. 786}.

"The episode illustrating Vidūra's unsurpassed wisdom in frustrating the designs of Pūrṇaka to kill him and teaching the ideals of Dharma even at the risk of his life." E

[*Vitura* of the label is evidently no other than the Bodhisat *Vidhura-Kumāra* or *Vidhura-Paṇḍita* of the Vidhura-Paṇḍita-Jātaka and the wise *Vidūra* of the Great Epic. The name of *Vidhura* or *Vidhūra* occurs in some four Jātakas, *viz.*, *Vidhura-Paṇḍita* (F. No. 545), *Dhūmakāri* (F. No. 413), *Dasa-brāhmaṇa* (F. No. 495) and *Sambhava* (F. No. 515). In all but the last he is described as the hero, *i. e.*, as the Bodhisat who served as a councillor and a teacher of law, morals and polity in the court of the Kuru-king Dhanañjaya of the Kuru kingdom, belonging to the family of Yudhiṣṭhira, while in the last or Sambhava-Jātaka he is represented as the *Purohita* of the king of Benares. It is the Commentary Jātakas that make this distinction between two *Vidhuras*; the Canonical ballads however seem to refer only to one *Vidhura*. It is strange indeed that the Canonical and the Commentary versions of the Birth-stories differ in certain important details of *Vidhura's* life. The Commentary versions seek to describe him as a Brahmin and the son of a Brahmin, while the Canonical versions tend to represent him as a Kuru-councillor holding the status of a noble of the royal family of the *Kurus*, though born in a natural state of servitude. In this respect the Canonical account shows an agreement with the Epic. All the accounts, whether Buddhistic or Brahmanical, in spite of their differences on certain points, describe him as a man of sound moral principles and charming personality, leading literally a life of plain living and high thinking, and respected by all the princes and peoples of his time for his sanity, wisdom, foresight, character and solicitude for the good of all. The difference between the spellings of his name calls for an explanation. The spelling *Vitura* of the label stands phonetically nearer the Epic-*Vidūra* than the Pâli *Vidhura* or *Vidhūra*. Although some of the manuscripts of the Jātaka-Commentary contain the spelling *Vidura*, the correctness of the spelling *Vidhura* is vouchsafed by the Commentary's play upon it, explaining it in the sense of *asama-dhura*, '*one of*

unparalleled wisdom and ability.'[1] The name *Vidūra,* on the other hand, is sought to be derived from √*vid* (to know) and explained in the sense of a wise man. One must admit that both the derivations ultimately come to the same thing. But this does not clear up the mystery about the original name or epithet of the Bodhisat. Höernle suggests that the Pâli *Vidhura* presupposes an earlier spelling, such as *Vithura.* This would no doubt sound very strange that *Vithura* was the epithet of so highly revered a teacher in view of the fact that it means in Sanskrit a demon, a thief, a nightranger. It may however be noted that *Vidhura* as he figures in the Dasa-Brāhmaṇa-Jātaka, advocates an opinion about the Brahmins of his time which could not be relished by them. And what is the usual way of the Brahmins? In the Great Epic they have turned a *Parivrājaka* of the *Triḍaṇḍin* class, a best of Brahmins, having the moral courage to criticise king *Yudhiṣṭhira's* conduct, into a *cārvāka* or '*men-eater demon,*' because his opinion ran counter to their personal interest. They have represented the seer *Kavaṣa* as a *Śūdra* because he had the courage to question the moral and spiritual value of hymn-chanting and sacrifice. They have described the *Śākyas,* the *Ājīvikas* and such other recluses as *Vṛṣalas* or *Śūdrapravrajitas* because they ordained even the *Śūdras* in disregard of their *cāturvarṇya* ideal.[2] Instances need not be multiplied, for the cases here cited suffice to show how contemptuously they have handled persons holding an opinion or following a path different from or contrary to theirs. They were compelled even against their will to accept the Buddha as an *avatāra* because this was found to be the best way of keeping people on their side. It is conceivable that in the same way they had to give the Bodhisat a redeeming name *Vidūra,* the wise, and invent an etymology to explain it so, when in the course of time his ideals were widely accepted. The Buddhists who welcomed his ideals helped this process of regeneration by representing him not as a *Vithura* but a *Vidhura.* At any rate, this seems to be the only plausible explanation of the difference of spellings of his name.] N

[1] Cf. Fausböll, Vol. VI, p. 263 : *asama-dhurassa Vidhurassa.*

[2] Paramatthajotikā, II, p. 175 : *Vasale vā pabbājetvā tehi saddhiṃ ekato sambhogaparibhogakaraṇena patito ayaṃ vasalato pi pāpataro ti jigucchanto vasalakâ ti āha. Vasala. jātikānaṃ vā āhutidassanamattasavaṇena pāpaṃ hotî ti maññamāno evam āha.*

31. Mugapakaya-Jātaka. BT
Mugapakiya-Jātakaṃ.[1] CT (221)

Cf. Mūgapakkha-Jātakaṃ [F. No. 538].
Temiya-Cariyā [Cariyā-Piṭaka].
Temiya-Jātakaṃ [Pagan heading].

"The story about the Bodhisat's part as mūkapakva or mūkapakṣa." Tr

{C. pp. 58, 138, PI. 94 (Pls. XXV. 4, LV). H. No. 155. L. No. 807.}

"The Birth-story in which the Bodhisat Prince Temiya explains the wisdom in the vow of dumbness for which he suffered much." E

[*mugapaka* = *mūgapakka*, meaning '*dumb but ripe*'; or = *mūgapakkha*, meaning '*one on the side of the dumb*,' '*one explaining why he did not speak at all.*'] N

32. Jabū Naḍode pavate. BT
Jaṃbū Naḍode pavate. CT (222)

"The rose-apple trees on Mt. Naḍoda or Naḍoda-Pavata". Tr

{C. pp. 98, 131; CI. 19 (Pls. XLVIII. 11, LIII). Ho. No. 9. H. No. 19. L. No. 708. All read *Jabu.*}

"The Jātaka-episode, like one in the Vessantara-Jātaka (F. No. 547), in which the Bodhisat then born as Viśvantara is represented as giving away his children to a begging Brahmin in absence of his wife, who on her return was lamenting over the loss of her sons, playing no more together under the rose-apple and other trees :—

Ime te jambukā rukkhā vedisā sindhuvāritā,
Vividhā rukkhajātāni, te kumārā na dissare." (?) E

[1] This ought to have been placed before two preceding labels.]

[Hoernle's suggestion that the first word of the label refers to the *Jambu* tree wherefrom the *Jambudvīpa* or India derived its name cannot be entertained for this twofold reason : (1) that the correct reading of the first word is not *Jabu* but *Jabū*, and as such it does not mean one *Jambu* tree but many ; (2) that the Buddhist legends about *Jambu* tree and *Jambudvīpa* do not explain the presence of the three human figures in the bas-relief. The word *Jabū* or *Jaṃbū* exactly correspond to *Jambukā*, which might be taken as a catch-word of the verses expressing the lamentation of *Viśvantara's* wife.] N

H. Jātaka Labels relating to scenes based upon stories outside Fausböll's Jātaka.

1. Vaḍuko katha[ṃ] dohati Naḍode pavate. BT (223)

"Vaḍuka milks the plant for a juicy balm on Mt. Naḍoda or Naḍoda-Pavata." Tr

{C. pp. 98, 131 ; CI. 18 (Pls. XLVIII. 9, LIII)—dohati= *'milks'* ; *pavate*='a *continuous flow or stream.*' Ho. No. 8—suggests *Naḍoda* is probably a proverbial expression founded on a story like the Nalapāna-Jātaka. H. No. 18-reads *Veḍuko*. L. No. 707.}

"The Birth-story in which a juicy balm had to be procured by Śakra, the thunder-bearer, from a Himalayan mountain Naḍoda (Nālada, Nārada or Gandhamādana) for the skin-disease of Vaḍuka, Vaṭuka or Vaḍika, the Bodhisat." E

[*Vaḍuka* of the label may be well equated with *Vaḍika* of the Vaḍika-Vastu (Avadāna-Śataka). If the reading *Vajika* be accepted, it may be interpreted as an epithet of *Śakra*, the thunder-wielder. *Katha* is probably *Kṣīrikām oṣadhi* of the Vaḍika-Vastu. *Naḍoda* seems to equate with *Nālada* or *Nārada*, and is obviously used as a synonym for *Gandhamādana*, *nala* or *nalada* meaning a scented plant or mineral. It is somewhat difficult to ascertain whether the label refers to one mount *Naḍoda*, or two mountains *Naḍoda* and *Pavata* (*ubho Nārada-Pabbatā*), or one mountain with two peaks.[1] The Vessantara-Jātaka (F. No. 547)

[1] According to the Purāṇas, Nārada was the name of one mountain and Nārada and Parvata were two offshoots thereof.

Parvate Nārade pūrvaṃ retaḥ skannaṃ Prajāpatiḥ,
Parvatastatra sambhūto Nāradaścaiva tābubhau.

Vāyu, LXIX. 74.

mentions Mts. *Gandhara* or *Gandhamādana*, *Nārada* and *Parvata* in connection with the *Vaṅka* or *Vakra* mountain. *Vessantara* or *Viśvantara* is said to have lived in the heart of the *Vakra* range (*Vaṅkapabbata-kucchimhi*), where evidently two mounts *Nārada* and *Parvata* were situated.[1] This part of the range is also referred to as *Gandhamādana-śaila*,[2] although there are verses in which *Gandhamādana* is mentioned as a mountain closely situated on the way to the *Vaṅka* or *Vakra* mountain.[3] The probable explanation is that the range was either called *Vakra* or *Gandhamādana* of which *Gandhamādana*, *Vakra*, *Nārada*, *Parvata*, and the rest were separate mountains. So one need not be surprised that the Barhut labels invariably designate the mountain as *Naḍoda* or *Naḍoda-Pavata* instead of *Gandhamādana* of the Jātaka and Avadāna stories.] N

2. Tikoṭiko cakamo. BT(224)
"The triangular resort." Tr

{C. pp. 25, 135-136; Pl. 54 (Pls. XXVII. 1, LIV)—suggests that the inscription is attached to a representation of the Nāgaloka region of snakes and elephants (both called nāga) which was situated under the Trikuṭa rocks supporting Mount Meru. H. No. 68. L. No. 765.}

"The label is attached to a Jātaka-scene in which the Bodhisat then born as a king of elephants is in a position to drive away the lions from the spot or to the scene of a triangular lake guarded by dragons, elephants and lions." E

[*Tikoṭika* can undoubtedly be equated with *Traikūṭa*, the three-peaked. Here *koṭi* means an extremity or arm, and not a peak. But it cannot be denied that the scene is laid in a forest region where the elephants had the chance of coming in contact with lions and tigers.] N

3. Himan(i). BT
Himāni-caṃkamo. (?) CFT (225)
"The snowy resort." (?) Tr

"The label is attached to a scene (Cunningham's Pl. XXXV. 2) of which the story is unknown." E

[1] Fausböll, Jātaka, VI, p. 568. [2] Ibid, p. 528. [3] Ibid, pp. 518, 529.

CT (1).—*Read* Āgarajusa *for* Agarajusa.
Read silākaṃmaṃto *for* sīlākaṃmaṃto.
BT (15).—*Read* Bībikānadikaṭa *for* Bibikānadikaṭa.
Read asavārikāsa *for* asavārikasa.
BT (25).—*Read* Bhikhuniya *for* Bhikuniya.
BT (43).—*Read* Sakāya thabho dānaṃ. BT (43)
"The pillar-gift of Śakrā." TR

[C. p. 138 ; PI 90 (Pl. LIV). L. No. 803.] N

Take out Pusadātaye Nagarikaye bhichuniye *and rearrange it as follows* :—

41 (a). Pusadātaye Nagarikaye bhichuniye. BT
Pusadātāya Nāgarikāya bhichuniyā dānaṃ. FT (41a)
"The gift of Puṣyadattā, the nun of Nagarī." Tr

[C. p. 138 ; PI. 93 (Pl. LIV). L. No. 806.] N

P. 17. *Add* 46. Soyāya dāna thabho. BT
Seyāya dānaṃ thabho. CT (48a)
"The gift of Śreyā (Śrīyā)—a pillar." Tr

[C's original photograph of a Rail-pillar belonging to S.W. Quadrant.] N

BT (89). *Translate* "The gift of Kañculā, the wife of [some gentleman whose name is effaced]."
BT (99). *Count* (99 a, b).
BT (108). *Alternative reading* Siriyāputasa.
BT (161). *Read* Anādhapeḍiko *for* Anadhapeḍiko.
BT (183). *Read* Yakhini Sudasanā. BT (183)
"The Yakṣiṇī Sudarśanā." Tr

ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA

(Continued)

Add to (5) Notes : " *Na tveva āryeṣu dāsabhāvaḥ.*"
Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra, Dāsakalpa.
" *Ayiro hi dāsassa janinda issaro.*"
" *Ayiro ti Ayiro sāmi.*"
Jātaka, Vol. VI, p. 300.

BT (160)—*Translate* "The matted-hair ascetics' dwelling-hall."
"The label records a scene of the Indasamānagotta (F. 161) or that of the Mittâmitta-Jātaka (F. 177)." E

Add to BT (171) Notes : " *Yakkhā...yuddhasoṇḍā.*"
Jātaka, Vol. I, p. 204.

Add 31 (a). Yavamajhakiyaṃ Jātakaṃ. BT (221).
"The Jātaka-episode with reference to Yavamadhyaka." TR

{C. p. 136 ; PI. 58 (Pls. XXV. 3, LIV). H. No. 72. L. No. 810.}

"The episode in which the Bodhisat Mahauṣadha is said to have displayed ready wit and power of judgment at Yavamadhyaka. Mahāummagga-Jātaka (F. 546)."

MATHURA PILLAR INSCRIPTION

OF

DHANABHŪTI II.

[Based upon Cunningham's eye-copy.]

Kape[1] ... ... Dhana
Bhūtisa ... ... Vātsī.

putrasa [Vādhapā] lasa
Dhanabhūtisa dānaṃ vedikā
toraṇānī[2] ca ratanagṛha sāva
Budhapujāya sahā mātāpi-
tāhi sahā[3] catu [hi] parisāhi.[4]

"……the gift of Vātsīputra Vṛddhapāla Dhanabhūti, [descendant] of Dhanabhūti—cubical seats, gateways and jewel-house, all for the worship of the Buddha, together with mother and father, together with four divisions (of Buddhists)."

"In this inscription all the letters have got the mātrā's, or heads, which are found in the legends of the silver coins of Amoghabhūti, Dāra Ghoṣa, and Varmmika."[5]

Cunningham takes this Dhanabhūti to be Dhanabhūti II, son of Vādhapāla, mentioned in one of the Barhut inscriptions as son of King Dhanabhūti, *i.e.*, of Dhanabhūti I. Cunningham records that he obtained two copper coins of Agaraja, father of Dhanabhūti, one at Sugh, the old capital of Śrughna, and the other at Kauśāmbī, the coins of Amoghabhūti, king of the Kuniṇḍas, were found most plentifully along the upper Jumna. He also possessed two coins of king Balabhūti. Both of these princes were probably successors of Dhanabhūti II.

[1-4] Stūpa of Bharhut, pp. 16, 130, and Pl. LIII—*kapa, kala*; *toraṇā, toraṇānāṃ*; *ki saha, haisāhara*; *parasahi, pariahi*.

[5-6] *Ibid*, pp. 16-17, 130.

NOTES

SECTION III

NOTES

I. ON PALEOGRAPHY.

(1) *Letters as Masons' Marks.*

Four Kharoṣṭhī letters found engraved as the masons' private marks on bases and capitals of the balusters of the ornamental arch of the E. Gateway are *p*, *s*, *a* and *b*, of which the first three occur twice. These may be, as suggested by Cunningham, the initials of words denoting numerals, viz., *p*=*paṃca*, *five*; *s*=*sata*, *seven*; *a*=*aṭha*, *eight*; *b*=*bārasa*, *twelve* (=*ba*, *two*, acc. to Cunningham).

Twenty-seven marks found on different parts of the Great Railing are all Brāhmī letters.

The conclusion drawn from this is that the artists employed on the arch of the E. Gateway must have hailed from a N.W. region, where Kharoṣṭhī was the prevalent script, and the artists employed on the Railing itself must have belonged to other parts of India, where the prevalent script was Brāhmī.[1]

(2) *Letters in Inscriptions.*

A. Gateway Inscriptions.—Some of the typical Brāhmī letters, carefully engraved on the four faces of two outer octagons in a lower pillar of the E. Gateway by the Western artists, whose script was Kharoṣṭhī, are shown below :—

A= : Two arms of different shape do not meet on the vertical but leave a proportionately large intervening space. Its development can be traced from the Aśokan form in Bühler's Table II, Siddapur (xii), and compared with *A* in Besnagar PI, Chanda's Pl. II, Sanchi Stûpa I and II Inscriptions, Chanda's Pls. III and IV, and Hāthigumphā and Nānāghāt Cave Inscriptions, Bühler's T. II (xxi, xxiv).

[1] Stûpa of Bharhut, p. 8.

K= . A hanging sword, a cross or a plus-sign with the elongated lower part of the vertical line. It compares favourably with *K* in Besnagar PI, Chanda's Pl. II, Sanchi Stûpa I Inscriptions, Chanda's Pl. III, and Hāthigumphā, Bühler's T. II (xxi).

G= . Markedly rounded top instead of a sharp angle. Its development can be traced from Aśokan forms in Bühler's T. II. Delhi (iv), and Siddapur (xi, xii), and compared with G in Sanchi Stûpa II Inscriptions, Chanda's Pl. IV (8-9). Compare the later forms in Bühler's T. II (xxi-xxiv), particularly the Mathura form (xx).

Ch= . A closed curve bisected by a vertical with a faint tendency to form a two-looped butter-fly. Its development can be traced from the Aśokan form in Bühler's T. II. Jaugada (vii). It is similar to *Ch* in Sanchi Stūpa I. Inscriptions, Chanda's Pl. III (1-2), and to *Ch* in Mathurā, Bühler's T. II (xx).

J= . Two curves of different shape meet in a line. Its development can perhaps be traced from the Aśokan form in Bühler's T. II. Kalsi (ii). Compare *J* in Hāthigumphā, Bühler's T. II (xxi-xxii).

T= . A vertical on a sharp angle, the vertical appearing to be continuous with the elongated left arm. Its development can be traced from the Aśokan form in Bühler's T. II. Delhi (iv), and it compares favourably with *T* in Sanchi Stûpa I and II Inscriptions, Chanda's Pls. III, IV, and Mathura in Bühler's T. II (xx).

D= . Two verticals joined by a half square. Its development can be traced from Aśokan forms in Bühler's T. II. Delhi (iv, v). It compares favourably with *D* in Besnagar PI, Chanda's Pl. II, Sanchi Stûpa I and II Inscriptions, Chanda's Pls. III, IV, and Mathurā in Bühler's T. II (xx).

P= . The lower part approaching the printed English capital U. Its development can be traced from the Aśokan form in Bühler's T. II. Delhi (iv). It compares favourably with *P* in Besnagar PI, Chanda's Pl. II, Sanchi Stûpa I and II Inscriptions, Chanda's Pls. III and IV, and differs from the perfect U form in Sanchi Gateway Inscriptions, Chanda's Pl. VI.

Bh= . Two right verticals above and below the horizontal upper line of Aśokan *Bh* meet in a straight line with the markedly elongated lower part.

R= . A cork-screw-like lightning form tending to be straight and sword-shaped. Its development can be traced from *R* in Aśokan Inscriptions and Besnagar PI. It compares favourably with *R* in Sanchi Stûpa I and II Inscriptions, Chanda's Pls. III, IV, and Mathurā in Bühler's T.II. (xx).

V= . High circular lower part. Its development can be traced from the Aśokan form in Bühler's T. II. Siddapur (xiii). It compares favourably with *V* in Besnagar PI, and Sanchi Stûpa I and II Inscriptions.

S= . The Gateway *P* with a tail composed of a perfect semicircle. Its development can be traced from the Aśokan form in Bühler's T. II. Jaugada (vi). It compares favourably with *S* in Besnagar PI, Chanda's Pl. II, Sanchi Stûpa I and II Inscriptions, Chanda's Pls. III, IV.

B. Coping Inscriptions.—Some of the typical Brāhmī letters, engraved in varying degree of carefulness on the rectangular blocks above some of the Coping-panels by different sculptors apparently of the same period are as follows :—

A= . Two arms forming a sharp angle on the vertical, the lower arm being continuous with a vertical. Somewhat similar to the Aśokan form in Bühler's T. II. Girnar (x).

A= . Two uniform arms making an angle on the vertical. An inverted Eran form in Bühler's T. II. (i).

A= . Two uniform arms making a wide angle on a short horizontal meeting the vertical. Similar to Aśokan forms in Bühler's T. II. Girnar (x).

A= . Two arms of different shape meet the vertical, leaving a small space between them ; *cf.* Aśokan form in Bühler's T. II. Siddapur (xii), *A* in Hāthigumphā, Bühler's T. II. (xxi).

K= . A cross-shaped plus-sign, the horizontal and the vertical intercrossing each other in the middle. Perfectly Aśokan, Bühler's T. II.

G= . A sharp angle with the right arm slightly curved and convex. Similar to the Aśokan form in Bühler's T. II. Girnar (viii). It compares favourably with *G* in Besnagar PI and Sanchi Rail Inscriptions, Chanda's Pls. I-IV.

G= . Two convex arms forming a sharp angle. Perfectly similar to the Aśokan form in Bühler's T. II. Kalsi (iii).

G= . A slightly rounded top An exceptional form similar to *G* in Bühler's T. II. Daśaratha (xvii).

Ch = . A high-curved ellipse bisected by a vertical. Similar to the Aśokan *Ch* in Bühler's T. II. Jaugada (vii), to Mathurā *Ch* in Bühler's T. II. (xx). Compare Sanchi forms, Chanda's Pl. III. Nos. 1, 12.

J = . A vertical crescent bisected by a short horizontal. An accidental form resembling Aśokan *Ṭā* in Bühler's T. II. Kalsi (ii), Delhi (iv) Mathurā *Ṭā* in Bühler's T. II. (xx).

J = . The forms approach the printed English capital E. Compare the Aśokan form in Bühler's T. II. Kalsi (ii). Bhaṭṭiprolu *J* in Bühler's T. II (viii).

J = . Two vertical curves meet in a horizontal. Similar to Aśokan forms in Bühler's T. II. Jaugada (vi-vii).

Jā = . *J* with a prolonged horizontal stroke in the upper half.

T = . A sharp angle with an upper vertical. Similar to Aśokan form in Buhler's T. II. Girnar (ix), and Mathurā *T* in Bühler's T. II. (xx).

T = . A sharp angle with the elongated left arm. Its development can be traced from the Aśokan form in Bühler's T. II. Girnar (x). Compare Mathurā *T* in Bühler's T. II. (xx).

T = . A slightly rounded form. Perfectly similar to the Aśokan form in Bühler's T. II. Kalsi (ii).

D = . See the Gateway form. Similar to Aśokan forms in Bühler's T. II. Delhi (iv-v).

P = . A vertical continuous with a lower sharp curve. The form is perfectly Aśokan.

Bh = Two right verticals of Aśokan *Bh*, with equal length, merging in a straight line. It compares favourably with some of the letters in Sanchi Rail Inscriptions, Chanda's Pl. III. Nos. 2, 10, 11. The Aśokan *Bh* where the two right verticals form an angle, lingers in Besnagar PI. Chanda's Pl. II, and the form where two right verticals remain above and below the horizontal with a short intervening space, lingers in some of the Sanchi Rail-pillar Inscriptions, Chanda's Pl. III. No. 8.

Y = . A vertical upon a horizontal crescent. Similar to Aśokan forms in Bühler's T. II. Kalsi (ii, iii), Girnar (viii, x), and to *Y* in Besnagar Pl. Chanda's Pl. II.

Y = . A vertical upon a high-curved horizontal. Similar to Aśokan forms in Bühler's T. II. Siddapur (xi-xii). It compares very favourably with *Y* in Sanchi Rail Inscriptions, Chanda's Pl. IV.

Y = . Anchor-shaped. An exceptional form, the development of which can be traced from the Aśokan form in Bühler's T. II. Delhi (iv-v). Similar to the Aśokan form in Bühler's T. II. Jaugada (vii) and Hāthigumphā *Y* in Bühler's T. II. (xzi-xxi).

R = . A straight vertical with equally thick ends. The type appears to be peculiarly Barhut.

V = . A vertical on a circle or a rounded curve tending to be triangular. The form stands near to Aśokan forms in Bühler's T. II. Kalsi (ii-iii), Delhi (iv-v), Jaugada (vi), Girnar (viii) and Siddapur (xi-xii).

V = . See Gateway form.

S = . A Coping *P* with a tail composed of a shorter horizontal continuous with a straight vertical. Exactly like the Aśokan form in Bühler's T. II. Siddapur (xi).

S = . The angular tail formed by two slanting arms of equal length. It stands near to Aśokan forms in Bühler's T. II. Kalsi (ii), and Jaugada (vi).

H = . A Coping *P* continuous with a short horizontal. See Gateway form.

C. Rail-Pillar, Ral-Bar, Rail-Panel and Rail-Medallion Inscriptions— The following are some of the typical Brāhmī letters, engraved at different times in the varying degree of carefulness by different artists (masons and sculptors) of different localities, where the Brāhmī was or was not the prevalent script :—

A = . Two arms of different shape making an angle almost on the vertical. It stands near to Aśokan forms in Bühler's T. II. Kalsi (ii), Girnar (ix).

A = . A sharp angle upon a short horizontal. Compare Aśokan forms in Bühler's T. II. Kalsi (ii), Jaugada (vi), Girnar (viii), and Bhaṭṭiprolu, Bühler's T. II. (xiv).

A = . An angle on a short horizontal with two arms tending to be verticals. Compare Aśokan forms in Bühler's T. II. Kalsi (iii), Girnar, (x), and Bhaṭṭiprolu, Bühler's T. II. (xiii).

A = . Sharply turned lower arm and larger intervening space. Similar in some respects to the Aśokan form in Bühler's T. II. Siddapur (xii). Exactly like Gateway form.

A = . Coping 4th form with larger intervening space. Similar to Sanchi Rail forms, Chanda's Pl. III.

A = . Two high arms with a small intervening space.

A = . A rounded angle bisecting the vertical. Compare Aśokan forms in Bühler's T. II. Siddapur (xii), Sanchi Rail Inscriptions, Chanda's Pl. III. Nos. 2,4, Mathurā and Hāthighumphā, Bühler's T. II. (xx, xxi).

K = . A perfect plus-sign. See Coping form.

K = . Two verticals meet in a curve.

K = . Sword-shaped vertical. Elongated lower part of the vertical. } Compare *K* in Besnagar Pl. and Sanchi Rail Inscriptions.

G = . Sharply angular. See Coping 1st form.

G = . Sharply angular with the elongated left arm.

G = . Slightly rounded top, See Coping 3rd form.

G = . Markedly rounded top. Exactly like Gateway form.

Ch = . Circular curve bisected by a vertical. Similar to Aśokan forms in Bühler's T. II. Delhi (iv), Girnar (viii, ix). *Ch* in Chanda's Pl. III. Nos. 5, 9, 11, 12, Pl. IV. No. 10.

Ch = . Similar to Gateway form.

Ch = . Butterfly with two loops, similar to the Aśokan form in Bühler's Pl. II. Kalsi (ii), and less prominent than Pabhosa *Ch* Bühler's T. II. (xix), and Hāthigumphā, Bühler's T. II. (xxi).

J = . Similar to Coping 1st form.

J = . Two uniform curves meet in a horizontal. Similar to Coping 3rd form.

J = . Two vertical crescents meet in a point. Compare Ghasundi *J*, Bühler's T. II. (xvi).

J = . Two uniform curves meet in a narrow loop. Similar to Aśokan form in Bühler's T. II. Girnar (viii). Compare Sanchi Rail form, Chanda's Pl. III. No. 3.

Jā = . Two uniform curves joined by an elongated horizontal. Similar to the Aśokan form, Bühler's T. II. Jaugada (vii). This is also met with on the Coping.

Jā = . An ordinary *J* a vowel sign for *Ā* in the upper half. Compare Hāthigumphā, Bühler's T. II. (xxi). This occurs in two Coping inscriptions.

Jā = . A three-curved *J* with a markedly elongated horizontal stroke in the lowermost curve. The form is unique.

T = . This peculiar form occurs once in the Jetavana-scene Inscription.

T = . These two inverted forms occur in the same Jetavana-Scene Inscription.

T = . A sharp angle with the elongated left arm. Similar to Coping 2nd form.

T = . A rounded top. Similar to Gateway form.

D = . Similar to Coping and Gateway forms.

D = . Two verticals joined by a rounded angle. Similar to the Aśokan form in Bühler's T. II. Girnar (x).

D = . Two verticals joined by a small angle. Similar to Daśaratha form, Bühler's T. II. (xvii), and Pabhosa, Bühler's T. II. (xix).

N = . The typical Brāhmī form in Barhut and all earlier Inscriptions.

N = . Slightly bent top of the vertical. This exceptional form occurs twice in the same Jetavana-Scene Inscription along with the standard form.

Bh = . Similar to Coping form.

Bh = . Coping form with slightly longer lower part of the right vertical.

Bh = . Markedly elongated lower part of the right vertical. Exactly like Gateway form.

Y = . Similar to Coping 1st and 2nd forms.

R = . Exactly like Coping form.

R = . Sword-shaped. Similar to Gateway form.

Kr = . R-sign is cork-screw like or lightning-shaped. Exactly like Aśokan *kr*, Bühler's T. II. Siddapur (xi).

Dr = . Another form of cork-screw-like *R*-sign.

S = . Similar to Coping 1st form.

S = . Like Coping 2nd form.

S = . Like Gateway form.

H = . See Coping and Gateway forms.

(3) CHRONOLOGICAL POSITION OF BARHUT INSCRIPTIONS

A. Views of Paleographic Experts :—

Cunningham.—"According to my judgment the absolute identity of the forms of the Bharhut characters with those of the Asoka period is proof sufficient that they belong to the same age. On this evidence I do not wish to fix upon any exact date, and I am content with recording my opinion that the alphabetical characters of the Bharhut inscriptions are certainly not later than B.C. 200."[1]

Bühler.—"The majority of the inscriptions on the Bharhut stûpa" belong to "the older Maurya alphabet of the Asoka edicts."[2]

Senart.—"The ancient inscriptions of the Bharhut Stûpa are perhaps contemporary with Piyadasi, of a surety not much later."[3]

Chanda.—"The Brāhmī inscriptions from the third century B. C. to the second century A.D. may be chronologically arranged in the following order :—

1. Edicts of Aśoka.
2. Nāgārjunī Hill cave inscriptions of Aśoka's grandson Daśaratha.
3. Besnagar Garuḍa pillar inscriptions.
4. (a) Inscriptions on the railings of Stûpa I at Sāñchī.
   (b) Inscriptions on the railings of Stûpa II at Sāñchī.
   (c) Bharhut railing inscriptions.
   (d) Inscriptions on the remnants of the old Bodh-Gayā railing.
5. (a) Besnagar Garuḍa pillar inscription of the year 12 after the inscription of *mahārāja* Bhāgavata.

1 Stûpa of Bharhut, p. 15.

2 Indian Paleography, 15, 2, Fleet's Translation in IA, p, 32.

3 Inscriptions of Piyadasi, Grierson's Translation, IA, 1892, p. 173.

(b) Inscriptions of Nāyanikā, widow of the Andhra king Sātakaṇi I in the Nānāghāt cave.

(c) Bharhut *toraṇa* (gateway) inscription.

6. Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravela, king of Kaliṅga.
7. Sāñchī *toraṇa* inscriptions.
8. Inscriptions of the time of Śoḍāsa."

B. Chanda's Arguments on four Test-letters A, Bh, R, H.—

The angle formed by the two arms of *A* meeting at a point on the vertical line is the characteristic of almost all the *A*'s in Aśokan edicts, and *A*'s and *Ā*'s with the arms that do not meet but leave a little intervening space between them are exceptional. As *A*'s or *Ā*'s of these two descriptions occur side by side, neither type can be considered as a local variety, but the latter may be recognised as an irregular form of the former. In the inscriptions of Daśaratha the arms of all the *A*'s make a sharp angle on the vertical line. In the older Sāñchī Rail inscriptions *A* with space between the arms is the rule and *A* with an angle made by the arms is the exception.

Most of the Aśokan *Bh*'s consist of two lower verticals with a horizontal line above them extending a little beyond the top of the right vertical, and with an upper vertical attached to its right end. But here and there we meet with *Bh*'s of two other types, in which the right lower and upper vertical lines, meet and either make an angle or form one straight line. In the inscriptions of Daśaratha all three types are met with. In the *Bh*'s of the Besnagar PI of Heliodoros the verticals meet and make an angle. In the older Sāñchī Rail inscriptions the regular Aśokan *Bh*'s is practically absent, and almost all the *Bh*'s have one single long right vertical line.

R in the Aśoka edicts generally represents an ornamental cork-screw type, and an irregular type approaches a straight line. The *R*'s in the Besnagar PI of Heliodoros are cork-screw like. But in the older Sāñchī Rail inscriptions the *R* is represented by a straight vertical line, and the straight lined *R* is met with in all decidedly later Brāhmī inscriptions.

Two types of *H* are met with in the Aśoka edicts, often side by side. The more common type has the small horizontal line attached to the right shorter arm, a little below its top. In the second type this short horizontal line is attached to the top of the shorter arm. The second type

1. Memoirs, Archæological Survey of India No. 1, pp. 14-15.

is also found exclusively in some of the pillar edicts, such as those at Radhia, Mathia, and Rampurva. In the inscriptions of Daśaratha all the *H's* belong to the first type, while in the Sāñchī Rail and other decidedly post-Mauryan inscriptions the *H's* represent the second type. So on, so forth.

C. Criticism.—The historical process behind the gradual transformation of Brāhmī letters is not so simple as may appear from Rai Bahadur R. P. Chanda's delineation. Certain forms became stereotyped at a particular period of time as an outcome of a very complex process, of the action and reaction of various factors. The shape of letters depends on the local style, the personal habit and temperament, the nature of the space and material, the position of the scribe, the nature of the tool, and the rest. And yet when we find that in none of the *Bh's* occurring in two hundred inscriptions incised on different parts of the Barhut Railing the charateristic of Aśokan *Bh's* with two right lower and upper verticals is present, and on the contrary, in all of them the *Bh's* are of a type in which there is a single long right vertical with normal or prolonged lower part, we cannot but take it to indicate the peculiar development of an age, later than Aśokan, where the latter type of *Bh* is rarely met with. Similarly when in none of these inscriptions, and in none of the inscriptions which are decidedly post-Mauryan, the *H's* with short horizontal attached a little below the end of the lower arm are met with, and on the contrary, in all of them the *H's* are of a type met with in Aśoka's Pillar Inscriptions, we cannot but entertain the presumption that it is the characteristic of a post-Aśokan age. So far as Rai Bahadur's general statement of paleographic changes as a test of chronology is concerned, we have nothing to gainsay. But we find it really difficult to follow him when he, applying this test, comes to the conclusion that the Barhut Rail Inscriptions are later than the Besnagar Pillar Inscription of Heliodoros. In the epigraph of Heliodoros the *R* is of the cork-screw type, the *G* is angular, and the *Bh* represents one of the irregular Aśokan types in which two right verticals meet at a point to form an angle. Is this sufficient to prove that this epigraph is older than the whole of the Barhut and Sanchi Rail Inscriptions? If we closely examine all the letters in this epigraph, we cannot but have the impression that the general system, if there be any, is akin to that of the Inscriptions on the Barhut E. Gateway. In this epigraph the *A* has a markedly large intervening space between its two arms and represents a type which is absent in the whole of the Barhut

Coping Inscriptions, and rarely met with in one or two Inscriptions on the Rail-pillars and Rail-bars. This type of *A* can be traced in the Inscription of the Barhut E. Gateway. The *R's* of the Barhut Gateway Inscription, like those of the epigraph of Heliodoros, are of the cork-screw type, though not so prominent as those in the latter. The *H's* in both are equally sword-shaped with prolonged lower part of the vertical line. The *J's* in the epigraph of Heliodoros are all looped, like the rare Aśokan form in Bühler's T. II. Kalsi (iii). This type of *J* is totally absent in the Barhut Inscriptions, and is met with in some of the Sanchi Rail Inscriptions, Chanda's Pl. III. No. 10. We are also unable to follow how Rai Bahadur, applying his test, can conclude that the Barhut Rail Inscriptions, are somewhat later than those at Sanchi. His analysis of the letter-types in Barhut Inscriptions is far from perfect. As regards Aśokan *A*'s, the distinction between two types with an angle and with a space between the arms is too broad to be of any real historical value. The Votive Inscription on the Barhut E. Gateway was evidently incised by the artists whose script was not Brāhmī but Kharoṣṭhī. Such Inscriptions can also be traced on the remnants of other two Gateways, as well as on some of the Rail-bars, and presumably on some of the Pillar-panels, added in the time of king Dhanabhūti. In this body of inscriptions we meet with certain special forms which recur in Mathurā, Hāthigumphā and Sanchi Gateway. The Barhut Coping Inscriptions show many forms of *A*, *V*, and the rest bearing likeness to this or that Aśokan form. Among the large number of Rail-pillar and Rail-bar inscriptions we trace different varieties of each letter, some going back to Aśokan forms and some remaining on a par with Gateway letters. The stage beyond the Gateway type is that of characters with thickened tops, *mātrā*'s or *serifs*. The solitary *Ch* on the Gateway is not of the butter-fly type but represents an ellipse-like curve bisected by a vertical, and tends to form two loops. The butter-fly type with two loops and without *serifs* occurs in some five Rail-pillar inscriptions attached to two interconnected sculptures, and this yet conforms to the Aśokan form in Bühler's T. II. Kalsi (ii). The explanation is that these two scenes were engraved by the same body of sculptors. The ornamental Barhut Railing was the joint work of the architects and sculptors, who represented different local traditions and belonged to different ages. The earlier inscriptions appear to have been incised by different artists (masons and sculptors), whose script was Brāhmī. The datas are however sufficient to establish that the

Barhut system is not exactly Aśokan but post-Aśokan, and definitely Mauryan and Śuṅga.

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ii. ON LANGUAGE.

(1) ORTHOGRAPHY.

Vowels.—a, ā, i, [ī], u, ū, e, o, au. *Nasalised vowel.*—ṃ.

Consonants.—k, kh, g, gh.—‖ c, ch, j, jh, ñ. ‖ ṭ, ṭh, ḍ, ḍh, ṇ. ‖ t, th, d, dh, n. ‖ p, ph, b, bh, m. ‖ y, r, l, v.—‖ s, h.—‖

Conjunct Consonants.—kr, dr, nh, br, mh, hm.

(2) SANDHIS.

Citupāda = Cita + upāda (?) Naḍoda = Naḍa + uda (?) Nadutarā = Nada + utarā. Bhatudesaka = Bhata + udesaka. Mahīdasena = Mahā + idasena. Samadaka = Saṃ + adaka. Sudhāvāsa = Sudha + āvāsa.

(3) PARADIGMS.

Masculine stems ending in a.—Ajakālako (N), Atanhatasa (G), Atimutasa (G), Anādhapeḍiko (N), Apikinakasa (G), Abode (L), Arāmako (N), Avisanasa (G), Asavārikāsa (G), Isānasa (G), Upaṃṇa (N), Erāpato (N), Kaṃmaṃto (N), Kakusadhasa (G) Kanakasa (G), Kanhilasa (G), Kāsapasa (G), Kumārasa (G), Koḍāyo (N), Konāgamenasa (G), Khujatidukiyasa (G), Gaṃgito (N), Gahuto, Gohuto (N), Guto (N), Gutasa (G), Gosālasa (G), Cakamo (N), Cakavāko (N), Cikulaniyasa (G), Culadhakasa (G), Culanasa (G), Janako (N), Tikoṭiko (N), Thabho (Ns), Thabhā (Npl), Thupadāsasa (G), Therākūṭiyasa (G), datasa, dinasa (G), Devasenasa (G), devasa (Gs), Devānaṃ (Gpl) Dāyakana, Dāyakānaṃ (Gpl), Dhutasa (G), Naḍode (L), Navakamikasa (G), Nigamasa (G), Nigodho (N), Nekāyikasa (G) Paṃthakasa (G), Paṭhamo (N), Paḍelakasa (G), Parirèpo, Pārireyo (N), Pāṭaliputā (Abl) Pālitasa (G), Pāsāde (L), Pusasa, Pusakasa (G), Puṭeṇa, Pauṭena (I), Putasa (G), Bodhicakasa (G), Brahmano (N), Bhānakasa (G) Bhutakasa (G), Bhogavaḍhaniyasa (G), Maharasa (G), Mahāmukhisa (G), Mahīdasenasa (G), Maho (N), Mahilasa (G), Mānavako (N), Mitasa (G), Muḍasa (G), Mācito (N), Yakho (N), Yakhilasa (G), Rakhitasa (G), Rupakārakasa (G), Vaḍuko, Veḍuko (N), Vasukasa (G), Vādhapālasa (G),

Vijādharo (N), Saghilasa (G), Samikasa (G), Samakasa, Sāmakasa (G), Saṃthatena (I), Saṭupadānasa (G), Sigāla, Sigālā (Npl), Sirimasa (G), Sise (Apl), Sihasa (G), Suganaṃ (G), Sucilomo (N), Sujāto (N), Sutaṃtikasa (G), Supāvaso (N), Suladhasa (G), Susupālo (N), Selapurakasa (G), Hathiko (N), Hathikasa (G).

Masculine stems ending in i [*i*, *ī*].—Atevāsino (G), Kaḍari (N), Kucimhā (Abl), Gahapatino (G), Girimhā (Abl), Girino (G), Dhanabhūtinā (I), Dhanabhūtisa (G), Peṭakino (G), Budhino (G), Vipasino (G), Vijapi (N).

Masculine stems ending in u [*u*, *ū*]—Jabū (Npl), Vasuno (G). Vesabhuno (G).

Masculine stem ending in Va (*Vatup*)—Bhagavato (G), Himavati (L).

Masculine stem ending in i (*Vin*)—Tapasi (N).

Masculine stem pitā—Pituno (G).

Masculine stem rājā—Rājā (N), Raño, Rājāno (G).

Feminine stems ending in ā—Acharā (N), Anurādhāya (G), Ayamāya (G), Alaṃbusā (N), Avāsikāya (G), Asitamasāya (G) Ujhikāye (G), Kuṃjarāya (G), Kokā (N), Koḍāya (G), Kosaṃbeyekāya (G), Guhā (N), Golāya (G), Caṃdā (N), Cudaṭhīlikāya (G), datāye, datāya (G), Dabhinikāya (G), Devatā (N), devāya, devāyā (G), Nāgaye, Nāgāye, Nāgāya (G), Nagarikaye, Nāgarikāya (G), Nadutarāya (G), Nāgasenāya (G), Nāgilāya (G), Parakaṭikāya (G), Purikāya, Purikayā, Purikāyā (G), Pusāya (G), Bodhikāya (G), Bhāriyāya (G), Bhojakaṭakāya (G), Bhutaye (G), Rakhitāyā (G), Sāmāya, Sonāya, Somāya (G), Sirimā (N), Sirimāya (G), Sivalā (N), Sudasanā (N), Sudhaṃmā (N).

Feminine stems ending in i—Ūkraṃti (N), Kākaṃdiyā (G, Abl), Koḍiyāniyā (G), Koladalakiyeya (G), Cātiyaṃ (L), Padumāvati (N), Pārikiniyā (G), Bodhi (G), Bhikhuniyā, Bhichuniyā (G), Misakosi (G), Yakhi, Yakhini (N), Yakhiyā (G), Vāsiṭhiyā (G), Venuvagāmiyāya (G), Vedisā, Vedisāto (Abl), Suci (N), Subhadā (N).

Feminine Stem Vadhu—Vadhu (N).

Feminine Stem Mātā—Mātu (G).

Neuter Stems ending in a—Aṭhāya (D), Åsana[ṃ] (N), Katha[ṃ] (Ac), Kāritaṃ (N), Cetaya, Cetiyaṃ (N), Jātaka, Jātakaṃ (N), Jetavana[ṃ] (Ac), Tirami (L), Turaṃ (N), Toraṇāṃ (G), Dāna, Dānaṃ (N), Dhamacakaṃ (N), Naḍode (L), Nigamasa (G), Pavate (L), Bhisaharaniya[ṃ] (N), Yavamajhakiyaṃ (N), Saṃmadaṃ (N), Sahasani (Npl), Sāsani (L).

Pronominal neuter stem ya—yaṃ (Ac).
Neuter Cardinal Stem ti—Tini (Npl).
Neuter Cardinal cha—cha (Npl).

(4) GENDERS.

Guto (M), Gutā (F). Dato (M), Datā (F). Devo (M), Devā, Devi (F). Devaputo (M), Devatā (F). Pālito (M), Pālitā (F). Pitā (M), Mātā (F). Puto (M), Dhitā (F). Pusa (M), Pusā (F). Bhadaṃta, Aya, Bhadaṃta. Aya, Bhikhu, Bhichu (M), Bhikhuni, Bhichuni (F). Mito (M), Mitā (F). Sāmi (M), Bhāriyā (F). Sirima (M), Sirimā (F).

Feminine—Acharā, Guhā, Bodhi, Vadhu, Sabhā.

(5) VERBS.

Present Indicative—Anusāsati, Dadati, Deti, Dohati, Vaṃdate.
Aorist—Avayesi.
Present participle—marata (maraṃtā).
Past Participle.—Upaṃṇa, Kaṭa, Keto, Guta, Jāta, Data, Dina, Pālita, Bhuta, Muta, Mācita, Rakhita, Vokata, Saṃthata.
Causative.—Kārita.

(6) VOICE.

Active.—Dighatapasi sise anusāsati. Atanā marata. Dusito giri dada ti na. Jetavanaṃ Anādhapeḍiko deti. Vaḍuko katha dohati. Ajātasatu Bhagavato vaṃdate.

Passive.—Silākaṃmaṃto upaṃṇa. Dhanabhūtinā kāritaṃ toraṇāṃ. Koṭisaṃthatena keto. Vasuguto mācito Mahādevānaṃ. Arahaguto devaputo vokato Bhagavato sāsani paṭisaṃdhi.

(7) COMPOUNDS.

Appositional.—Gahapati, Gāgīputa, Gotiputa, Jetavana, Jaṭila-sabhā, Devaputa, Devasabhā, Nāgarājā, Bhisaharana, Rupakāraka, and the rest.

Copulative.—Mātāpitā, Vitura-Punaka.

Adjectival.—Iṃdasālaguhā, Kosaṃbakuṭi, Gaṃdhakuti, Citupādasila, Cuḍāmaha, Culakokā, Chadaṃta, Dhamacaka, Naṃdinagara, Mahākokā.

Substantive.—Tikoṭika, Timiṃgila, Vijādhara, and most of the personal names and epithets mentioned *passim*.

(8) SYNTAX.

Nominative used for Instrumental.—Arahaguto Devaputo vokato = Arahagutena Devaputena vokato.

Genitive Plural used for Instrumental Singular.—Vasuguto mācito Mahādevānaṃ, Mahādevānaṃ = Mahādevena.

Use of the Indeclinable ca.—Kāritaṃ toraṇāni, silākaṃmaṃto ca upaṃṇa.

Inversion of the order of words.—Thabho dānaṃ, Dānaṃ thabho. Suci dānaṃ, Dānaṃ Suci. Daḍăṅikamo cakamo, Cakamo Parirepo. Sumanāya Cudaṭhīlikāya, Cudaṭhīlikāya Kuṃjarāya. Caṃdā Yakhi (Yakhini), Yakhini Sudasanā. Dānaṃ Vasukasa bhāriyāya, Revatimitabhāriyāya dānaṃ.

(9) PRINCIPAL SUFFIXES.

Ana (Anaṭ).—Sudasanā.

Ā, I, Ni, Ini (Ā, I, Nī, Inī).—See examples of these feminine suffixes under Genders.

I (Kvip).—Pasenaji, Vipasi.

I (Ṇin).—Aṃtevāsi.

Ika (Ik).—Navakamika.

Ima (Iman).—Sirima, Sirimā.

Iya (Ṣṇya).—Isisiṃgiya, Khujatidukiya, Cikulaniya, Cetaya, Chadaṃtiya, Therākūṭiya, Bhisaharaniya, Bhogavaḍhaniya, Maghādeviya, Mahāmukhi(ya), Mugapakaya, Yavamajhakiya.

Ila (Ila).—Kanhila, Nāgila, Mahila, Yakhila, Saghila.

Ka (Ka, Kaṇ, Ṇak, Ṇik).—Ajakālaka, Culadhaka, Janaka, Jātaka, Dabhinikā, Dāyaka, Paṃthaka, Paḍelaka, Pusaka, Pahuhathika, Bodh"kā, Bhatudesaka, Bhutaka, Bhojakaṭaka, Mānavaka, Yavamajhaka, Valaka, Vasuka, Viruḍaka, Samaka, Samika, Sāmaka, Selapuraka.

Ta (Kta).—Past Participle suffix. See examples under Verbs.

Ti (Kti).—Ūkraṃti, Dhanabhūti.

Na (Ṣṇa).—Selapura, Mānava, Vāsiṭhi.

Ni (Ṇic).—Causative suffix. See the example under Verbs.

Nika (Ṣṇik).—Arāmaka, Asavārika, Nāgarikā, Paṃcanekāyika, Purika, Sutaṃtika.

Neya (Ṣṇeya).—Kosaṁbeyā.

Ra (Da).—Kuṃjarā, Mahara.

Vā (Vatup).—Laṭuvā, Bhagavā, Himavā.

Vi (Vin).—Tapasi.

(10) PHONETIC CHANGES.

Short vowels lengthened in pronunciation or spelling before ṃ and assimilated and conjunct consonants: Punarvsau = Punabbasu = Punāvasu.

Long vowels shortened in spelling before ṃ and assimilated and conjunct consonants: Aprakīrṇa Appakiṇṇaka = Apīkinaka; karmānta = kammanta = kaṃmaṃta; bhadrānta = bhaddanta, bhadanta = bhadaṃta; Mahādevānāṃ = mahādevānāṃ = Mabādevānaṃ; rājye = rajje = raje; rājña = raññā = raña. Exception—Kāśyapa = Kassapa = Kāsapa.

Long vowels shortened in compounds: Gotiputa, Bharanideva, Vāchiputa, Revatimita. Exceptions—Gāgīputa, Mātāpitā.

ī and ū generally dispensed with. Exceptions—ūkraṃti, Gāgī, jabū.

i and e interchangeable: krīta = keta; Kuvera, Kubera = Kupira; girina = gerina; Cikulana, Cekulana; piṇḍika = peḍika; Viśvabhū = Vessabhū = Vesabhu: siñca = seṃca, secha; sthavira = thera.

u and o interchangeable: Bodhikā = Budhikā; cittôtpāda or citrôtpāda = cittuppāda = citupāda (?) Nandôttarā = Nanduttarā = Nadutarā.

ai represented by e: pañcanaikāyika = paṃcanekāyika; Vaijayanta = Vejayaṃta; Vaidiśa = Vidisā = Vedisa; Śailapura = Selapura.

au represented by o: Kauśāmbī = Kosaṃbi. Exception—pautrena = pauṭeṇa.

e for a: Konāgamena = Koṇâgamana.

ā for ī: devā, devi = devī; Sivalā = Sīvalī.

i for a: apikinaka = appakiṇṇaka = aprakīrṇaka.

i for ai: tikoṭika = traikoṭika.

u for i: susu = śiśu.

u for au: sutaṁtika = suttantika = sautrāntika.

ū and o for ava: ūkraṁti = avakkanti, okkanti = avakrānti; vokato = vyavakṛtaḥ.

o for ayū: mora = mayūra.

ṛ represented by a and i: kṛta = kaṭa, kata; gṛhapati = gahapati, mṛga = miga; ṛṣi = isi.

Clerical mistake of a for o: gahuta = gohuta.

Clerical mistake of o for aṁ, i and e: keto = krītaṁ; bodho = bodhi; Misakosi = Misakesi = Misrakeśī.

i and e for ya : nigodha=nigrodha=nyagrodha ; mahāmukhi=mahāmukhya ; jeṭha=jyeṣṭha.

Instances of compensation : assavārikassa=asavārikāsa ; Bimbikā=Bībikā ; siñca=secha ; piṇḍika=peḍika ; Puṣyadattā=Pusadātā.

Instances of epenthesis : caitya=cetaya ; Dignāgā=Diganāgā ; bhāryā=bhāriyā ; śmaśāna=savasāna=susāna.

k=kkh=kṣ : mugapaka=mūgapakkha=mūgapakka.

k=kk : Kukuṭa=kukkuṭa.

k=kk=kr : caka=cakka=cakra.

k=kv : katha=kvātha, kvatha (?).

k=kkh, kk=ṣkra : nikaṃa=nikkhama, nikkama=niṣkrama.

kh=k : khuja=khujja=kubja.

kh=kkh=kṣ : yakha=yakkha=yakṣa ; rakhita=rakkhita=rakṣita.

g=gg=rg : Gāgī=Gaggī=Gārgī.

g=gg=lg : phagu=phaggu=phalgu.

g=gr : nigodha=nigrodha=nyagrodha.

gh, h=gh, kh, h=h : maghādeva, mahādeva=mahādeva.

c=kh=kṣ : cula=cūla, culla, khudda=kṣudra ; kuci=kukkhi=kukṣi.

ch=kkh=kṣ : bhichuni=bhikhuni=bhikṣuṇi.

ch=ñc : secha=siñca.

ch=cch=ts : Vāchi=Vācchi=Vātsi.

ch=cch=ps : acharā=accharā=apsarā.

j=jj=jy : raje=rajje=rājye.

j=jj=bj : khuja=khujja=kubja.

jh=jjh=dhy : majhaka=majjhaka=madhyaka.

ñ=ññ=jñ : raña=rañña=rājña.

ṭ=t : kata=kata, kṛta, saṭu=satu=smṛtya ; seṭaka=setaka=śvetaka (?)

ṭh=tth=rth : aṭhāya=atthāya=arthāya.

ḍ=r : Naḍoda=Nārada.

ḍ=ḍh : Asaḍā=Aṣāḍhā ; Viruḍaka=Virūḷhaka=Virūḍhaka.

ḍh=ḍḍh=rdh : vaḍhana=vaḍḍhana=vardhana.

t=d, dh=d : Vitura=Vidura, Pâli Vidhūra=Vidūra.

t=tt=kt : Muta=Mutta=Mukta.

t=tt=tr : Mita=Mitta=Mitra.

t=tt=rt : Atanhata=Ataṇhatta=Atṛṣṇārta.

t=tt=pt : Guta=Gutta=Gupta

th = th, tth = st, sth: thabha = stambha; thera, sthavira; bahuhathika = bahuhatthika = bahuhastika.

dd = dd = dr: Subhadā = Subhaddā = Subhadrā

dh = ddh: sudha = suddha = śuddha.

dh = ddh = bdh: Suladha = Suladdha = Sulabdha.

n = ṇ: Konāgamena = Koṇâgamana; Sonā = Śravaṇā; Exceptions—toraṇa; pauṭeṇa, puṭeṇa.

n = ṇṇ: Avisana = Avisaṇṇa = Aviṣaṇṇa.

n = ṇṇ = rṇ: Apikina = Appakiṇṇa = Aprakīrṇa; Punaka = Puṇṇaka = Pūrṇaka.

p = v = b: Kupira = Kuvera = Kubera.

p = ph = p: Pusa = Phussa = Puṣya.

p = pp, p = pr: pāsāda = pāsāda = prāsāda.

p = pp = lp: Vijapi = Vijappi = Vijalpī (?).

p = pp = rp: sapa = sappa = sarpa.

v = bb = rv: savata = sabbattha, sabbatta = sarvatra, sarvâtma.

s = t: nisisani = nissitāni = niśritāni.

s = ś: Isāna = Īsāna = Īśāna; kesi = keśī; satu = sattu = śatru; sāla = sāla = śāla; susu = susu = śiśu; sirisa—sirīsa = śrīśa; susāna = susāna = śmaśāna.

s = ṣ: Alaṁbusā = Alambusā = Alambuṣā: Avisana = Avisaṇṇa = Aviṣaṇṇa.

s = ss = śr: Misakosi = Missakesī = Miśrakeśī.

s = s = śv: Seṭaka = Setaka = Śvetaka.

s = ss = sv: tapasi = tapassi = tapasvī.

h = h = s, ṣ: girimhā = girimhā, girismā; Atanhata = ataṇhatta = Atṛṣṇārta.

ṁ replacing the ṇasals in conjunct or assimilated consonants: kaṁmaṁta = Kammanta = Karmānta; dhaṁma = dhamma = dharma; peḍika (peṁḍika) = piṇḍika.

(11). CHARACTERISATION.

The orthography of the Votive Labels on the Gateways, particularly of the label on the E. Gateway, seems to differ in some essential points from that of the general body of inscriptions on the Railing. Two diametrically opposite tendencies can be noticed in the two orthographies. The former shows a predilection for the replacement of the dental nasal

(n) by the cerebral (ṇ), while the latter shows the predilection for replacement of the cerebral nasal by the dental. It is in the former orthography that we come across the use of the dipthong *au*, *e.g.*, pauṭeṇa. The predilection for the cerebral nasal argues a closer connection with the dialect of the Gateway Labels with the Jaina Prakrit, which, as is evident from a large body of inscriptions, held sway over the dialect or dialects of the Mathurā region. Barring the provincialisms, the language of the Barhut railing can be regarded as a Pâli dialect. The wordings of the Jātaka labels where the influence of the Pâli idiom is palpably strong, go however to show that the Scriptural source of the Barhut artists was not precisely the Pâli but a source of mixed character with the predominance of the Pâli elements. The Scriptural authority of the Barhut carvings was a Jātaka-selection including many legends all of which cannot be traced in the Pâli or any other praticular tradition. It is on the whole an independent selection, including legends and episodes derived mainly from a source like the Pâli, while of the remaining legends and episodes, some can be traced only in the Lalita-vistara, some only in the Divyâvadāna, some only in the Mahāvastu, some only in the Avadāna-Śataka. The wordings of the Jātaka Labels bear some clear hints as to the mixed character of the Scriptural source. The Orthography, the Sandhi, the Declension, the Compounds, the Suffixes and the Phonetic Changes all combine to establish a close affinity to Pâli. But there are certain grammatical forms and phonetic variations which cannot be explained without a Mixed Sanskrit mediation. A few examples will suffice : Bhāriyā = P. bhariyā = Sk. bhāryā; Vipasino = P. Vipassissa = Sk. Vipaśyinaḥ; Vesabhuno = P. Vessabhussa = Sk. Viśvabhuvaḥ; Pasenaji = P. Pasenadi = Sk. Prasenajit. The Genitive singular forms Sirimasa, Mahamukhisa, and Dhanabhūtisa as well as the Feminine form devā are quite remarkable. These are apparently unwarranted by the Pâli or the Sanskrit idiom. The form Mahāmukhisa can be explained and justified only on the assumption that the final i of mukhi is equivalent to ya :—Mahamukhisa = Mahāmukhyasa. Bhichuni used as an alternative spelling of bhikhuni is rather curious. We cannot but welcome the suggestion of Dr. S. K. Chatterjee that there was probably a twofold pronunciation of Bhikṣuṇī, viz. bhikkhuni and bhikhyuni, prevalent in the central region of India, and that the Barhut bhichuni was based upon the second pronunciation, cf. Pâli accha = ṛkṣa; ucchu = ikṣu

iii. ON NAMES AND EPITHETS.

(1). NAMES OF DONORS.

Bhikṣus—Apikinaka, Isidina, Isipālita, Kanaka, Kanhila, Gorakhita, Gula, Culadhaka, Jāta, Devasena, Naṃda, Naṃdagiri, Nāgadeva, Paṃthaka, Punāvasu, Budharakhita, Bhutaka, Bhutarakhita, Mahara, Mahādeva, Mahila, Valaka, Samaka, Samika.

Bhikṣuṇis.—Diganagā, Dhamarakhitā, Nāgadevā, Nāgā, Nāgilā, Pusadatā, Phagudevā, Budharakhitā, Budhikā, Bhutā, Sapagutā, Samanā (Sumanā), Sonā, Somā.

Donors other than Bhikṣus and Bhikṣuṇis : (Men)—Atanhata, Atimuta, Avisana, Ānaṃda, Isāna, Isidata, Isirakhita, Utaragidhika, Gagamita, Gosāla, Ghāṭila, Culana, Jitamita, Jeṭhabhadra, Thupadāsa, Devarakhita, Dhanabhūti, Dhamaguta, Dhamarakhita, Dhuta, Naṃdagiri, Pusa, Pusaka, Phagudeva, Budharakhita, Bodhi (Budhi), Bodhiguta, Bharanideva, Bhutarakhita, Mahāmukhi, Mahīdasena, Mita, Muḍa, Yakhila, Yamita, Yasika, Revatimita, Valamita, Vasuka, Vādhapāla, Vijitaka, Velimita, Saghamita, Saṁghamita, Sagharakhita, Saghila, Satika, Samika, Sirima, Suladha, Seṭaka.

(Women)—Anurādhā, Ayamā, Idadevā, Isirakhitā, Ujhikā, Kaculā, Kujarā, Koḍā, Koladalaki, Gorakhitā, Golā, Ghosā, Caṁdā, (?), Cāpadevā, Dhamarakhitā, Nadutarā, Nāgarakhitā, Nāgasenā, Pārikini, Pusadevā, Pusā, Mitadevā, Yakhi, Vāsiṭhi, Sakaṭadevā, Sakā, Samidatā, Sāmā, Sirimā, Seyā.

(2). OF PERSONS CONNECTED WITH KING DHANABHŪTI.

Kings and Princes—Visadeva, grandfather of king Dhanabhūti.

Āgaraju, father of king Dhanabhūti.

Vādhapāla, son of king Dhanabhūti and donor of a rail-bar.

Queens—Gāgī, mother of king Visadeva and great grandmother of king Dhanabhūti.

Goti, mother of Āgaraju and grandmother of Dhanabhūti.

Vāchi, mother of Dhanabhūti.

Nāgarakhitā, wife of king Dhanabhūti(?) and female donor of a rail-bar.

(3). OF THE GOTRAS OF FEMALES IN VOTIVE LABELS.

Koḍina = Koṇḍañña = Kauṇḍiṇya (?)

Gaga = Gaga = Gārgya

Vacha = Vaccha = Vātsya.
Vāsiṭha = Vāsiṭha = Vāsiṣṭhya.

(4) OF THE RULING DYNASTY.

Suga = Suṁga = Suṅga (?).

(5) OF PERSONS IN THE JĀTAKA LABELS.

King —Ajātasata (Ajātasatu), Kaṃḍari, Pasenaji Kosalo, Maghādeva.
Queens—Ki[narā] (?), Sivalādevi.
Other personages.—Aṇādhapeḍika, Isisiṃga, Dighatapasi, Vaḍuka, Vasuguta, Vitura, Veḍuka, Sujāta, Susupāla.
Buddhas.—Vipasi, [Sikhi], Vesabhu, Kakusadha, Konāgamena, Kāsapa, Sākamuni.

(6) OF PERSONS OTHER THAN HUMAN BEINGS.

Devaputas (*gods*).—Arahaguta, Brahma.
Devatās (*goddesses*).—Culakokā, Mahākokā, Sirimā.
Lokapāla Yakṣas.—Kupira, [Dhataraṭha], Viruḍaka, [Virupakha].
Other Yakṣas.—Ajakālaka, Gaṃgita, Suciloma, Supāvasa (Supāvāsa).
Yakṣiṇis.—Caṃḍā, Sudasanā.
Nāgarājas (Dragon-chiefs).—Erapata (Erāpata), Cakavāka.
Acharās (*Nymphs*).—Alaṃbusā, Padumāvati, Misakosi (Misakesi), Subhadā.

(7) OF LOCALITIES OF DONORS.

Asitamasā, Karahakaṭa, Kākaṃḍi, Kosaṃbi, Khujatiduka, Gula or Gola, Cikula, Cudaṭhīli, Therākūṭa, Dabha, Naṃḍinagara. Nagara or Nagari, Nāsika, Paḍa or Paḍela, Parakaṭa, Pāṭaliputa, Bahadagojatira (?), Bībikānadikaṭa, Bodhicaka (?), Bhogavaḍhana, Bhojakaṭa, Moragiri, Vidisā, Venuvagāma, Saṭupadāna (?), Sirisapada, Seriyāputa, Selapura.

(8) OF PLACES CONNECTED WITH JATAKA-SCENES.

Iṃdasāla-Gubā, Kosala, Jetavana, Naḍoda-Pavata Parirepa, Yavamajhaka, Himavata (?).

(9) OF BUDDHIST CANON AND ITS DIVISIONS.

Piṭaka (Peṭaka)=the Canon.
Sutaṃta=Discourses as found in the Sūtra-Piṭaka.
Jātakaṁ=the Birth-stories.
Paṁcanikāya=the five Nikāyas.

(10) OF CLASSES OF DEITIES.

Sudhāvāsa-devatā=the deities of the Pure Abodes.
Savata-nisisāni=the all-pervading deities.
Kāmāvacara=the deities of the sensuous plane.

(11) OF PARTS OF THE BARHUT RAILING.

[unisa, unhisa, uṣṇīṣa=the coping.]
toraṇa=the arch of a gateway, the gateway.
thabha, thaṃbha=the pillar.
suci=the rail-bar.
silākaṃmaṃta=the stone-work, artistic designs in stone.

(12) PERSONAL EPITHETS.

1. *Those derived from the names of localities* :—
   Karahakaṭika=of Karahakaṭa.
   Kosaṃbeyakā=of Kosaṃbi.
   Kosalo (Kosalako)=of Kosala.
   Khujatidukiya=of Khujatiduka.
   Cikulaniya=of Cikula.
   Cudaṭhīlikā=of Cudaṭhīli.
   Therākūṭiya=of Therākūṭa.
   Dabhinika=of Dabha.
   Naṃdinagarika=of Naṃdinagara.
   Nāsika=of Nāsika.
   Paḍelaka=of Paḍa or Paḍela.
   Parakaṭika=of Parakaṭa.
   Bhogavaḍhaniya=of Bhogavaḍhana
   Bhojakaṭaka=of Bhojakaṭa.
   Veṇuvagāmiya=of Venuvagāma.

Seriyāputa = of Siriputa.
Selapuraka = of Selapura.

2. *Epithets other than geographical* :—

(*a*) *Secular*—Asavārika = the trooper.
Arāmaka (Ārāmika) = the gardener.
Kosāya = the fort-keeper (?)
Mahāmukhi = the great local headman.
Rupakāraka = the engraver or sculptor.

(*b*) *Epithets denoting secular functions connected with monasteries*—
Avāsikā (Āvāsikā) = the resident nun of a monastic abode.
Dāyaka = the supporter of a monastic establishment.
Navakamika = the superintendent of building operations.
Bhatudesaka = the distributor of food.

(*c*) *Epithets denoting scriptural learning*—
Pamcanekāyika = one who knows the five Nikāyas.
Peṭaki = one who knows the Piṭaka or Piṭakas.
Bhānaka = the repeater of texts.
Sutamtika = one who knows the Sūtras containing instructive discourses.

(*d*) *Monastic prefixes or titles of address*—
(*i*) *those of monks*—Aya = the Noble Master.
Bhadamta = the Most Gentle.
Bhadamta Aya = the Most Gentle Master.
(*ii*) *those of nuns*—Bhikhuni, Bhichuni = the Nun.

(*e*) *Epithets suggestive of tenets and practices*—
Bodhicaka = the bearer of the wheel as symbol of Bodhi (?).
Satupadāna = one who practises mindfulness (?).

(*f*) *Epithets and titles of address applicable to Buddhas*—
Bhagavā = the Divine Master.
Mahādeva = the Supreme Deity, the god of the gods.

(*g*) *Titles of address of ruling princes*—
Adhirāja = the subordinate potentate.
Kumāra = the prince.
Rājā = the king.

(*h*) *Epithets used as personal names*—
Anādhapeḍika = the feeder of the poor.

Dighatapasi = the ascetic of long standing.
Sākamuni = the Śakyan sage of mystic experience.

(13) BÜHLER ON NAMES AT SANCHI AND BARHUT. [1]

"The names of various lay donors and, I may add, of a few monks furnish also some valuable information regarding the existence of the Pouranik worship during the third and second centuries B.C. A very large proportion of the names, *e.g.*, Araha, Arahaka, Arahadata, Arahadina, Arahadāsa, Arahadāsi, Arahatapālita, Arahaguta, Dhamadata, Dhamaguta, Dhamarakhita, Dhamapālita, Budhita, Budhapālita, Bodhi, Sagha, Saṃghila, Saghadinā, Saghadeva, Saghamita, and Saṃgharakhitā is decidedly Buddhist. Another considerable number of proper names, *e.g.*, Asāḷa, Mulā (*i e.*, Mūlā), Muladatā, Phaguna, Poṭhāka, Poṭhādeva, Rohīnī, (Rohini), Sātika, Svatiguta, has been derived from the names of Nakshatras and points to the conclusion that the rule of some Gṛihyasūtras, which recommends the use of Nakshatranāmāni, was practically obeyed. The same inference may be drawn from almost all other collections of ancient inscriptions and from various ancient Brahmanical, Buddhist and Jaina works. There are further some names such as Agisimā (Agniśarmā), Agido(de)vā, Bahadata, (Brahmadatta), Mahida, Mita, Vesamanadatā, Visvadeva, Yamarakhita, which are closely connected with the ancient Vedic worship; and some Nāga, Nāgila, Nāgadata, and so forth bear witness for the existence of the snake-worship, which was common to the Brahmanists, and the heterodox sects. Finally the names Vinhukā, an abbreviation for Vísnudattā, Visnurakkhitā, Upidadata, or Opedadata, (Upendradatta), Balaka, and Balamita (connected with one of the heroes of the legend of Krishna, Baladeva, or Balarāma, which is also called Bala) furnish evidence for the development of Vaishnavism, while Nadiguta (Nandigupta), Nandigiri, Sāmidata (Svāmi—, *i.e.*, Kumāradatta), Samika and Samikā (Svamika and Svāmikā); and Sivanadi (Sivanandi) do the same service to Saivism. It is also possible that Isadata and Himadata are likewise Saiva names. If the former has been correctly read, it corresponds to Sanskrit Isadatta. The other name can be connected with Himā, a name of Durgā. They may also be, however, derived from Hima, "The moon." The occurrence among the Buddhists of names connected with the ancient Vedic religion,

[1] Epigraphia Indica, Vol. II, Sanchi Stûpa Inscriptions, pp. 95-96.

as well as of such as are connected with Saivism and Vaishnavism, in these early inscriptions, has no doubt to be explained by the assumptions that their bearers or their ancestors, adhered to these creeds before their conversion, and that they received their names in accordance with the established custom of their families. The rules regarding the giving of names were probably then as lax among the Buddhists as they are in the present day among the heterodox sects of India, which by no means restrict themselves to the lists of their particular saints or deities. Their historical value consists therein that they form a link in the chain of evidence which enables us to trace the existence, nay the prevalence, of Vaishnavism and Saivism, not only during the third century B.C., but during much earlier times, and to give a firm support to the view now held by a number of Orientalists, according to which Vaishnavism and Saivism are older than Buddhism and Jainism By exactly the same method of analysis which has been here applied to the names on the Sānchi Stūpa, it is possible to extract from these occurring in the Canonical works of the Buddhists the proof that the Purānik religions flourished at the time when those works were composed. If, *e.g.*, we learn from the Bhikkhupāchittiya, II, I, that the ox of a Brahmin in Takshasilā was called Nandivisālo "as big as Nandi," it is not doubtful that the animal had received its name in honour of Siva's Vehicle, and that Saivism was popular at the time when the Suttavibhaṅga was composed and probably earlier."

IV. ON LOCALITIES.[1]

1. Asitamasā.—According to Cunningham, the place was situated somewhere on the bank of the Tamasā or Tons river. The Vāmana-Purāṇa mentions Asinīla and Tāmasa among the countries of Western India. Asi may be = Ṛṣi.

2. Iṁdasāla Guhā = Pâli Indasāla-Guhā, the Indraśāla-Cave. Indasāla Guhā is, according to Buddhaghoṣa, a Upanidhāpaññatti, *i.e.*, a name derived from an object standing at close proximity, say, from the Indraśāla tree marking the entrance of the cave. According to description in the Sakkapañha-Suttanta, the cave belonged to Mt. Vediyaka situated to the north of a Brahman-village called Āmraṣaṇḍa, the Mango-tract, and

[1] For some of the useful references we are much indebted to Mr. Kshirode Mohan Chakrabarty, M.A.

lying to the west of Rājagṛha, the capital of Magadha. Buddhaghoṣa says that the cave was situated between two hills or mountains, and that the Vediyaka mountain was so called because it was surrounded on all sides by yellow-coloured grassy and flowery woodlands looking like so many maṇivedikās, all grown at its foot. Fa Hian and Hwen Thsang suggest a name for the cave in Chinese which corresponds to Sk. Indraśailaguhā-mountain (In-t'o-lo-shi-io-kia-ho-shan). Indraśailaguhā may be taken to mean 'the Cavern of Indra,' as Beal suggests, or 'the mountain-cave sacred to Indra.' Some such idea is also associated with the Pâli Vediyaka-pabbata. According to Fa-Hian, the cave and the mountain were situated nine yojanas to the south-east of Pāṭaliputra, and according to Hwen Thsang, it was situated 30 li or so to east of the town Kālapināka. Cunningham has identified the mountain referred to by the Chinese travellers with Giryek, which is the higher of the two lofty western peaks of the northern range of hills that stretch from the nighbourhood of Gayā to the bank of the Pañcana river, a distance of about 36 miles (Arch. Survey, Vol. I, pp. 16-18 ; Vol. III, p. 150 ; Ancient Geography, Nundo Lal Dey's Geographical Dictionary *sub voce* Indraśila). The following description of the mountain by Hwen Thsang is here worth quoting : "The precipices and valleys of this mountain are dark and gloomy. Flowering trees grow thickly together like forests. The summit has two peaks, which rise up sharply and by themselves. On the south side of the western peak between the crags is a great stone-house, wide but not high. Here Tathāgata in old time was stopping when Śakra, king of Devas, wrote on the stone matters relating forty-two doubts which he had, and asked Buddha respecting them. Then Buddha explained the matters. The traces of these figures still exist. Persons now try to imitate by comparison these ancient holy figures. Those who enter the cave to worship are seized with a sort of religious trepidation. On the top of the mountain ridge are traces where the four former Buddhas sat and walked, still remaining. On the top of the eastern peak is a Saṅghārāma ; .....before the Saṅghārāma.....is a stûpa which is called Hansa (Keng-sha). Formerly the priests of this Saṅghārāma studied the doctrine of the Little Vehicle" [Beal's Records, II, pp. 180-1 ; Watters' Yuan Chwang, II, p. 173. Cf. Beal's Records, Introd., p. lviii.] One reads in the Sakkapañha-Suttanta : "At the time when the Blessed One entered, the Indraśāla-cave which was uneven became even,

which was narrow became wide, which was dark became bright, as if by the superhuman powers of the gods."

"Tena kho pana samayena Indasālaguhā visamā yanti samā sampadi, sambādhā yanti urundā (uruddhā) sampadi, andhakāra-guhāyaṁ devānubhāvena" (Dīgha., II, pp. 269-270). Buddhaghoṣa says that after having been surrounded with kuṇḍas, fitted with doors and windows, done up into a cave-dwelling with the finest chunam plaster and adorned with garland and creeper designs, the cavern was given to the Blessed One.

"Atha naṃ kuṇḍehi parikkhipitvā dvāravātapanāni yojetvā supariniṭṭhita-sudhākamma-mālākamma-latākamma-vicittaṃ leṇaṃ katvā bhagavato adaṃsu" (Sumaṅgala-Vilāsinī, Siamese Ed. II, p. 392).

3. KARAHAKAṬA.—This is identified by Hultzsch with Karhād in the Sattara District.

KĀKAṀDĪ.—*Kākandī* of the Jaina Paṭṭāvalī and of the Buddhist literature. The location of the place is unknown. *Kākandī* was originally the abode or residence of *Ṛṣi Kakaṇḍa* (*Kakandassa nivāso Kākandī*), that is to say, it was, like Sāvatthī and Kosambī, a city that sprang up round a hermitage (Sutta-Nipāta-Commentary, Paramattha-jotikā, II, p. 300). It was the birth-place of a Jaina Tīrthaṅkara.

KOSAṀBI.—Pâli *Kosambī*, Sk. *Kauśāmbī*. This was in the time of the Buddha, as also before his advent, the capital of the country of the *Vaṃsas* or *Vatsas*. According to the Pauranic tradition, the royal dynasty of the Vatsa country, to which King Udayana belonged, traced its descent from Puru and once held its royal seat in the Kuru kingdom with Hastināpura as its capital (Pargiter's Dynasties of the Kali Age, see *Pauravas*). *Kosambī* was, according to the Prologue of the 5th Book of the Sutta-Nipāta, one of the important stopping places of persons travelling along the great trade-route connecting Sāketa and Sāvatthi in the north with Patiṭṭhāna or Paithan on the bank of the Godāvarī in the south. *Kosambī* is identified by Cunningham with *Kosam* on the Jumna, about 30 miles south-west from Allahabad. The Barhut inscription above referred to mentions *Venuvagāma* as a suburb of *Kosambī*. Cunningham identifies *Venuragāma* with the modern village *Ben-Purwa* to the north-east of *Kosam*. According to the Sutta-Nipāta-Commentary, *Kosambī* was originally the residence of *Ṛṣi Kusumba* (*Kusambassa nivāso*, Paramattha-jotikā,

II, p. 300). *Kosambī* was one of the most well-known centres of early Buddhism.

KHUJATIṀDUKA.—Sk. *Kubjatinduka*, Pâli *Khujjatinduka*. The location of the place is unknown. The Purāṇas mention *Kubjaka* and *Kubjāmra* among the holy places of India.

GULA or GOLA.—The location of the place is unknown. The Purāṇas mention *Golaṅgula* as a country in the Deccan.

CIKULA.—Sk. *Citkula*. The location of the place is unknown. One of the Nasik Cave Inscriptions, L. No. 1133, mentions *Cikhalapadra* as a village. *Cikula, Cekula = Ceula*, probably *Caul*, near Bombay, EI, II. p. 42.

CUDAṬHĪLI.—Sk. Cundasthali (?) The location of the place is unknown.

JETAVANA.—See *ante*, p. 60.

THERĀKUṬA.—Sk. *Sthavirakūṭa*. The location of the place is unknown.

DABHA.—Sk. *Darbha*. In the Brahmāṇḍa and a few other Purāṇas *Darva* or *Darbha* is mentioned as a country on the hills.

NAṀDINAGARA.—The location of the place is unknown. If it be the same as *Nandigrāma* of the Rāmāyaṇa, then it must be a town, such as *Nundgaon*, in Oudh.

NAGARA or NAGARĪ.—The location of the place is unknown. Was it a town in Western India ?

NAḌODA-PAVATA.—See note *ante*, pp. 98-99.

NĀSIKA.—*Nasikī* or *Naisika* of the Purāṇas and *Janasthāna* of the Rāmāyaṇa. According to the Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa, it was situated on the Narmadā. *Janasthāna*, as appears from the Ramayanic description, was within the reach of Pañcavaṭi on the Godāvarī. It then guarded the approach to South India and was carefully fortified. *Janasthāna* came to be known as *Nāsika*, as the foolish popular tradition would have us believe, from the circumstance that here Sūrpanakhā's nose was cut off by Lakṣmaṇa. Nāsika is modern *Nasik*, which is about 75 miles to the north-west of Bombay. During the reign of the Sātavāhana kings of Andhra, Nāsika was a stronghold of the Bhadrayānīya school of the Buddhists (L. Nos. 1122-1149).

PAḌA.—The identification of the place cannot be settled beyond dispute. In the Barhut inscription we have a geographical patronymic *Paḍelaka* which can be equated with Sk. *Pāṇḍeyya* or *Pāṇḍeyyaka*, a man

of *Pāṇḍya*. But *Paḍela* is evidently the ancient name of Paṇḍeria in Bilaspur District, Central Provinces.

Parakaṭa—The location of the place is unknown.

Pāṭaliputa—Pâli *Pāṭaliputta* Sk. *Pāṭaliputra* or *Kusumapura*, *Palibhotra* of Megasthenes and of the Periplus. This was the ancient site of modern Patna and the last great capital of the kingdom of Magadha. This city was a mere village called *Pāṭaligāma* or *Pāṭaligrāma* in the time of the Buddha, and was situated on the south bank of the Ganges, just opposite Vaiśālī. King Ajātaśatru ordered his two Brahmin ministers Sunīdha and Varṣakāra to fortify the village of Pāṭaligrāma as a means of repelling the attacks from the Vṛjis or Licchavis of Vaiśāli. This, indeed, marked the commencement of the building of the city of *Pāṭaliputra*, *Pāṭalipura* or *Pāṭaliputrapura*. The Buddha had seen the building work of the city during his last journey from Rājagṛha to Vaiśālī, and an account of this will be found in the Mahaparinibbāna-Suttanta and the Udāna. According to the Jaina and Pauranic accounts, the capital was transferred from Rājagṛha to Pāṭaliputra by Udāyī or Udayabhadra, who was, according to the Buddhist dynastic list, the son and successor of Ajātaśatru. There are some Buddhist Suttas which bear evidence to the fact that the building work of Pāṭaliputra was completed in the life-time of Ānanda who had survived the Master. There is reason to believe that the capital was again removed to Rājagṛha, while it was finally transferred to *Pāṭaliputra* by Kākavarṇī Kālāśoka, about a century after Buddha's demise. *Pāṭaliputra* was the most prosperous capital of the Maurya Emperors. According to tradition King Aśoka had built there a big Buddhist monastery by the name of Kukkuṭârāma. Buddhaghoṣa says that *Pāṭaligāma* was so called because the village of this name was adorned with *Pāṭali* flowers. This can also explain the other name *Kusumapura* or the Flower-city. Hwen Thsang has recorded a curious local legend accounting for the origin of the name *Pāṭaliputra*. A certain Brahmin young man was made a bridegroom by his fellows and offered the twig of a Pāṭali tree as a bride. This circumstance gave rise to the name *Pāṭaliputra*, "the Son-in-law of *Pāṭali*." This fancy can never pass for sober history. The fact is that we do not know the exact meaning of the word *putra*. It was evidently a Sanskritised form of a Prakrit word *puta* or *putta*. One need not be surprised if the term *puta* was a phonetic variant of *pota*, meaning a merchant vessel, and was applied to a harbour or resting place of ships.

We have a few other names which can be similarly accounted for, to wit, *Kesaputta*, *Seriyāputa*, *Satiyaputa*, *Keralaputa*.

Purikā—*Pulika* of the Mahābhārata; Purikā of the Khila-Harivaṃśa; *Paulika*, *Paurika* and *Saulika* of the Purāṇas. In the Purāṇas, this is included in the list of countries of the Deccan. In the Vāyu, the Brahma, the Brahmāṇḍa and the Agni, it is mentioned before *Daṇḍaka*, while in the Vāmana, it occurs after *Daṇḍaka*, and before *Sārika*. Was it, like *Aśmaka* and *Maulika* situated in the Godāvarī region and included within the principalities of the Sātavāhana kings of Andhra? In the Khila-Harivaṃśa (Viṣṇuparva, XXXVIII, 20-22),[1] the city of *Purikā* is placed between two Vindhya ranges, near *Māhiṣmatī*, and on the bank of a river flowing from the *Ṛkṣavanta* mountain :—

Ubhayor Vindhayorpāde nagayos tāṃ mahāpuriṃ |
Madhye niveśayāmāśa śriyā paramayā vṛtam ||
Purikāṃ nāma dharmātmā purīṃ devapurīprabhāṃ |
Udyānaśatasambādhāṃ samṛddhāpaṇacatvarām |
Ṛṣavantaṃ samabhitastīre tatra nirāmaye ||

Pārireya=Pâli *Pārileyyaka*, Sk. *Pāreraka*. This was the name of a woodland guarded by the elephant Pārileyya. Failing to settle the dispute among the Bhikṣus at *Kauśāmbī*, the Buddha came away to live in this woodland, and spent there one rainy season, being attended by the elephant Pārileyyaka and a monkey. The way to this woodland from *Kauśāmbī* lay through a village called *Bālakaloṇakārā*, the saltmakers' village.

Bahaḍagojatīra—The location of the place is unknown. The name implies that the place was on the bank of a river crossed by bullocks, cows and goats.

Bībikānadikaṭa—This, as its name implies, was a place in the region of the *Bimbikā* river. But a river or a country of this name has not as yet been traced in any known list of geographical names in the Epics or the Purāṇas.

Bodhicaka=Sk. *Bodhicakra*. It is doubtful if this was the name of a place, though a similar name *Ekacakra* is met with in the Pauranic lists of countries and places.

Bhogavaḍhana=Sk. *Bhogavardhana*, the Wealth-increaser. The Purāṇas catalogue it as one of the countries in the Deccan. The Vāyu,

[1] For this reference we owe some debt to Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri.

the Brahma and the Brahmāṇḍa mention it after *Maulika* and *Aśmaka or Aśvaka*, while the Vāmana mentions it before *Aśmaka*. According to the Sutta-Nipāta, V. 977, and its Commentary, *Mulaka* (*Aḷaka*) and *Assaka* were two Andhra principalities situated near the forest region of the Godāvarī where Ṛṣi Śarabhaṅga and others lived. That these two were Andhra principalities is borne out by the Nasik cave inscriptions of the Sātavāhana kings of Andhra. It seems that *Bhogavardhana*, too, was situated in the Godāvarī region. The location of the place is however unknown.

Bhojakaṭa=Sk. *Bhojakaṭa* or *Bhojya*. The Sabhāparva of the Great Epic, Chap. 30, mentions *Bhojakaṭa* and *Bhojakaṭapura* as two places in the south conquered by Sahadeva. If *Bhojakaṭa* be the name as *Bhoja* or *Bhojya* of the Purāṇas, then it must be a country of the Vindhya region. The expression *Dāṇḍakyabhoja* in the Brāhmaṇas may indicate that this *Bhojakaṭa* was either included within or within the reach of *Daṇḍaka*. It is clear from the Mahābhārata list that *Bhojakaṭa* Illichpur was distinct from *Bhojakaṭapura* or *Bhojapura* the second capital of Vidarbha (modern Berar). In the Khila-Harivaṃśa (Viṣṇuparva, LX, 82), *Bhojakaṭa* is expressly identified with *Vidarbha*:

"Vidārbheṣu nivāsārthaṃ nirmame'nyat puraṃ mahat,
Tad Bhojakaṭaṃ ityeva babhūva bhuvi viśrutam."

Moragiri=Sk. *Mayūragiri*. The location of the place is unknown. See note *ante*, p. 13.

Yavamajhaka=Pāli *Yavamajjhaka*, Sk. *Yavamadhyaka*. The precise meaning of the name is not clear. In the Mahā-Ummagga-Jātaka, it occurs as a general name for four market towns distinguished as Eastern, Southern, Western and Northern according to their position near the eastern, the southern, the western or the northern gateway of the city of Mithilā, the capital of Videha. The Barhut label refers to the market town of the eastern gate which was the birth-place of Mahosadha or Mahauṣadha, the Bodhisat, the son of the wealthy banker Sirivaḍḍhaka or Śrīvardhaka. *"Mithilāya pana catūsu dvāresu Pācīna-Yavamajjhako Dakkhina-Yavamajjhako Pacchima-Yavamajjhako Uttara-Yavamajjhako ti cattāro nigamā. Tesu Pācīna-Yavamajjhake Sirivaḍḍhako nāma seṭṭhi ahosi."* [F. J. VI, pp. 330-331.] The inhabitants of *Pācīna-Yavamajjhaka* are described as a wise and intelligent people (*paṇḍitā*), while Mahosadha was the wisest of them. The stories illustrating Mahosadha's wonderful power of judgment clearly indicate the importance of the place. The *Kīḷāsāla*

(*Krīḍāśāla*) erected by the Bodhisat is said to have been an object of pride to all and a lasting monument of his fame.

VEDISA = Pâli *Vidisā*, Sk. *Vaidiśa*. *Vedisa*, according to Cunningham, is the old name of *Besnagar*, a ruined city situated in the fork of the *Bes* or *Vedisa* river and the *Betwa* within 2 miles of *Bhilsa*. *Vaidiśa* was, according to the Purāṇas, situated on the bank of the *Vidiśā* river which took its rise from the Pāripātra mountain. The Garuḍa Purāṇa contains the following patriotic description of *Vaidiśa* :—

> "Vaidiśaṁ nāma nagaraṃ sarvasampat sukhāvaham |
> Nānājanapadakīnām nānāratnasamākulam |
> Nānāpuṣpavanākīrṇaṃ nānāpuṇyajanāvṛtam ||"

Vidisā came for the first time into prominence in Buddhism in connection with the viceroyalty of Aśoka. Aśoka, while he was a viceroy at Ujjain, married a *vaiśya* girl from *Vessanagara* or *Vaiśyanagara*, which was evidently the old name of *Besnagar*. Since the time of Aśoka it became a very important centre of Buddhism. The only other religion which vied with Buddhism in post-Aśokan time was Bhagavatism.

VENUVAGĀMA = See under *Kosaṃbi*.

SAṬUPADĀNA = It is doubtful if it was the name of any place. See note *ante*, p. 15.

SIRISAPADA = See note *ante*, p. 27.

SERIYĀPUTA = The location of the place is unknown. The Serivāṇija-Jātaka (F. No. 3) mentions a kingdom by the name of *Serī*. The city of *Andhapura* could be reached by the merchants from *Serī* by crossing the river *Tailavāha*. It seems that *Seriyāputa* was, like *Suppāraka* and *Bharukaccha*, an important port on the western coast of India.

SELAPURA = Sk. *Śailapura*. The location of the place is unknown.

HIMAVATA = Pâli *Himavanta*. The region denoted by this term is rather vague and indefinite. It denoted undoubtedly a region along the southern foot of the Himalayas. It excluded *Kuru*, *Pañcāla*, *Kapilavatthu*, *Pāvā*, *Kusinārā* and other places included within the Middle Country as described by the Buddhists. It must have represented a region covered by Nepal excluding the Terai, Sikkim and Bhutan. In post-Aśokan times a local Buddhist school by the name of *Haimavata* arose as a seceder from *Sthaviravāda*.

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